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Government and the printing trade 1540-1560.

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Government and the Printing Trade,
1540-1560.

A Thesis submitted by
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registered at
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1978.



Abstract

Government and the Printing Trade, 1540-1560. P.M. Took.

Chapter I is concerned with the legal framework within which printers and stationers operated. This includes not only legislation specifically introduced to govern the printing trade, but also the extension to printed books of existing prohibitions on slanderous, prophetic, treasonable or heretical utterances. It also discusses the consolidation of censoring powers within the Privy Council following the Proclamation of 1530.

Chapter II contains a chronological account of relations between the government and the printers (a.) under Henry, with particular attention to the difficulties encountered by stationers after 1540, the rise of the political broadside, and the increase in imported propaganda, (b.) under Edward, discussing Somerset's liberalisation, the influx of foreign refugees, the vast increase in the number of books printed, particularly social and religious polemic, bills and ballads, and the reimposition of censorship. The confiscation of catholic service books under Northumberland is considered, and the abortive attempt of the catholic emigrées to establish a counter propaganda. The religious commitment of the stationers is examined in detail, leading to a discussion of the effect upon the protestant printers of (c.) Mary's accession. Mary's success in silencing criticism is assessed, with its effects; the fall in book production, the operation of underground presses, the appearance of seditious pamphlets and the increase in imported polemic. The work of the Marian printers is examined, particularly service book production and the printing of catholic apologetics.

Chapter III considers the role of patrons of the press, such as Cranmer, Catherine Parr, and Somerset. The optimistic approach to the dissemination of books which characterised the evangelical, humanist tradition is discussed, and the deliberate use made of printers by Cromwell and Cranmer is traced. In particular the use of patents and licenses to supply the Edwardian church with all necessary devotional aids is traced, and contrasted with the passive role adopted by Mary's government, particularly after the death of Gardiner.

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Preface

Ever since John Foxe described the crucial role played by the printing press in the spread of the reformation, historians of the sixteenth century have stressed the importance of printed propaganda and of the dissemination of the vernacular scriptures in shaping the religious development of England. In recent times Professor A.G. Dickens dealt at some length with the subject in his classic work The English Reformation and the authors and contents of propaganda tracts have been closely studied by Professor W.K. Jordan, Professor L.P. Fairfield, Dr. D.M. Loades and others. But the part played by the printers themselves in the religious controversy has not, to my knowledge, been thoroughly investigated. In tackling this question for the years 1540-60 I have investigated, as far as surviving evidence permits, the extent and nature of religious commitment among the printers, and the degree to which that commitment influenced the output of the presses. This led on to an examination of the relationship between the printers and the government, and the extent to which successive governments controlled the stationers' activities.

The main part of this thesis, (Chapter II), is taken up with a chronological account of the book trade and of the governments' attempts to control it. This chronological treatment avoids the repetition of political circumstances which would have been inevitable if different aspects of the trade had been treated separately, but in order to counter-balance the resulting length of the chapter I have subdivided it into the three reigns under consideration, and further broken it down into sections covering the main topics of interest in each of the reigns. Although the years under discussion are 1540-60 it has been necessary to look briefly at the earlier part of Henry's reign to explain the situation inherited by government and stationers in 1540. The years 1558-60 are treated here as a postscript to Mary's reign, the relationship between Elizabeth and the printers being too large a topic to cover.

Quotations are given throughout with modern spelling and punctuation, except where the titles of tracts and bills are concerned. Short Title Catalogue numbers have been used sparingly, because of possible changes still to take place when the Revised Catalogue is completed. Detailed bibliographical descriptions have had to be confined to a few pamphlets where such descriptions are particularly significant; the number of pamphlets under discussion would have made the thesis impossibly long if detailed descriptions had been given of them all.

I would like to take this opportunity to express my profound appreciation of the kindness and encouragement given to me in my work by my supervisor, the late Professor W.D.J. Cargill Thompson.

Abbreviations

<u>A.P.C.</u>	<u>Acts of the Privy Council of England</u> , ed. J.R. Dasent, 1890-1907.
Arber, <u>Transcript.</u>	E. Arber, <u>A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London, 1554-1640</u> , 1875-1894.
B.M.	British Museum.
<u>D.N.B.</u>	<u>The Dictionary of National Biography.</u>
<u>Dom. Cal.</u>	<u>Calendar of State Papers (Domestic Series) 1547-1590</u> , ed. R. Lemon, 1856.
Duff, <u>Century.</u>	E. G. Duff, <u>A Century of the English Book Trade, 1457-1557</u> , Bibliographical Society, 1905.
<u>E.H.R.</u>	<u>English Historical Review.</u>
Foxe.	<u>The Acts and Monuments</u> , ed. J. Pratt, 1877.
Garrett.	C. Garrett, <u>The Marian Exiles</u> , Cambridge, 1938.
<u>Greyfriars.</u>	<u>Greyfriars Chronicle</u> , ed. J.G. Nichols, Camden Society, 1852.
Hughes & Larkin.	<u>Tudor Royal Proclamations</u> , ed. P.L. Hughes and J.F. Larkin, New Haven and London, 1964.
<u>J.E.H.</u>	<u>Journal of Ecclesiastical History</u>
<u>L. & P.</u>	<u>Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII, 1509-1547</u> , ed. Brewer, Gairdner & Brodie, 1862-1920.
Machyn.	<u>The Diary of Henry Machyn</u> , ed. J.G. Nichols, Camden Society, 1848.
Muller.	<u>The Letters of Stephen Gardiner</u> , ed J.A. Muller, Cambridge, 1933.
<u>N. of R.</u>	<u>Narratives of the Days of the Reformation</u> , ed. J.G. Nichols, Camden Society, 1859.
Nicolas <u>P.C.P.</u>	<u>Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council of England, 1368-1542</u> , ed. H. Nicolas, 1834-37.
<u>O.L.</u>	<u>Original Letters relative to the English Reformation</u> , ed. H. Robinson, Parker Society, Cambridge, 1856.
P.R.O.	Public Record Office.
<u>S.R.</u>	<u>The Statutes of the Realm</u> , 1810-1828.
<u>S.T.C.</u>	<u>A Short-Title Catalogue of Books printed in England, Scotland and Ireland, and of English Books printed abroad, 1475-1640</u> , ed. A.W. Pollard & G.R. Redgrave, 1926.
Scarisbrick.	J.J. Scarisbrick, <u>Henry VIII</u> , 1968.
<u>Span. Cal.</u>	<u>Calendar of State Papers, Spanish</u> , ed. P. de Goyangos and others, 1862-1954.
Strype, <u>E.M.</u>	J. Strype, <u>Ecclæsiastical Memorials</u> , 1822.
<u>T.A.</u>	<u>Typographical Antiquities</u> , ed. J. Ames, W. Herbert, & T. F. Dibdin, 1816.
<u>T.B.S.</u>	<u>Transactions of the Bibliographical Society.</u>
<u>T.C.B.S.</u>	<u>Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society.</u>

Abbreviations cont.

- T.R.H.S. .. Transactions of the Royal Historical Society.
- Troubles Connected. Troubles Connected with the Prayer Book of 1549,
ed. N. Pocock, Camden Society, 1884.
- Ven. Cal. .. Calendar of State Papers, Venetian, ad. Rawdon Brown
and others, 1864-1947.
- Wilkins Concilia. Concilia Magnae Britanniae et Hiberniae, ed. D. Wilkins,
1737.
- Worman. .. E.J. Worman, Alien Members of the Book Trade during
the Tudor Period, Bibliographical Society, 1906.
- Wriothesley. .. C. Wriothesley, A Chronicle of England during the
Reigns of the Tudors, ad. W.D. Hamilton, Camden
Society, 1875-1877.

Chapter 1

Legislation concerning the operation and output of the printing press.

Any consideration of the relationship between Governments and the printing trade in the sixteenth century will naturally concentrate on the nature and effectiveness of governments' attempts to control the output of the press. Writing in Elizabeth's reign, John Foxe described the God-given power of the printed word to transform men's lives;

"... to restore the church again by doctrine and learning it pleased God to open to man the art of printing... Printing being opened, incontinently ministered unto the church the instruments and tools of learning and knowledge.
... By this printing, as by the gift of tongues, and as by the singular organ of the Holy Ghost, the doctrine of the gospel soundeth to all nations...and what God revealed to one man is dispersed to many." (1)

Foxe concludes that such is the power of the press that "either the Pope must abolish knowledge and printing, or printing at length will root him out." (2)

An instrument of such revolutionary power was clearly of concern to governments, at a time when a degree of voluntary consent on the part of subjects was essential to the efficient functioning of even the most dictatorial regime. Any medium which might influence attitudes or arouse discontent, any channel through which previously unvoiced aspirations could be published, was necessarily of interest to those attempting to rule. The early exploitation of printing by the Lutherans led to an early realisation by both ecclesiastical and secular establishments that the press must be controlled, and the years 1530 - 1560 saw the introduction of censorship of some kind throughout Europe.

Nevertheless, there is a danger that our present knowledge of the power of the press, and of the important role it played in the events of the sixteenth century may cause us to overstress the concern felt by governments at the time over the need to control the printing trade. Even in the most literate areas, such as the great trading cities, the press was not at this time a mass medium for directing or expressing opinion. Throughout this period the pulpit continued to be looked upon as the most influential platform for social and religious views, both

(1) John Foxe, Acts & Monuments, Vol.IV, p.233, and Vol.III, p.721,720.

(2) *ibid.* vol.III, p.720.

official and unofficial. Books remained the preserve of an educated minority. The hindsight with which Foxe and later historians spoke of the power of the press was not available to governments in 1500. However quickly its potential was recognised by reformers and those who attempted to control them, the printing press was greeted at its invention, not as an influential medium through which religious or political ideas could be broadcast, not, in fact, as a political force, but as a new craft, to be treated in the same way as any other craft.

Nor did the invention of the press lead to the creation of the theory or practise of censorship. It was already illegal in England to pass on any rumour or scandal which might cause a breach of the peace, or to slander the King or his officials. It was also illegal to publish inflammatory prophecies or hostile papal documents. Specific and draconian measures already existed to prevent the appearance of books containing heretical opinions, and to punish anyone writing, reading or handling such books. In fact the Statute of 1414 prohibited the publication of anything which might "subvert the Christian faith and the law of God and Holy Church" or "destroy the same our Sovereign Lord the King and all other Manner of Estates..." (1)

The theory of censorship, that the expression in public of any opinion was a public act of which the state had the right and the duty to take cognisance, predated the invention of the printing press. It was believed that if hostile or seditious opinions were allowed to go unrepressed civil strife would follow, for those who express such views "do wickedly instruct and inform people and as much as they may excite and stir them to sedition and insurrection and maketh great strife and division among the people, and other enormities horrible to be heard." (2) It was the duty of the state to prevent and punish the expression of any such seditious or socially disruptive opinions.

During the reign of Henry VIII this basic theory of censorship was embellished with certain refinements familiar to modern historians such as the "adaptation" of history to suit the needs of the current regime, the use of pulpit and press to expound an official line, the development of a royalist cult through the careful wording of official documents and the denigration of all opponents of government policy as malicious

(1) 2 Hen.V, st.1, cap.7. S.R. vol.11, p.181.

(2) 2 Hen.IV, cap.15. S.R. Vol.11, p.126.

and subversive. But even if a dawning realisation of the power of the printed word, and a deliberate and successful use of it, characterised Henry VIII's government, particularly during the era of Cromwell's ascendancy, the basic philosophy of censorship, and of the government's duty to do everything necessary to maintain civil order, was much older.

1. Trade Legislation.

It is not surprising therefore, that the earliest legislation to deal specifically with the printing press was trade legislation, passed at the request of the printers, and marking their development from the few foreign merchants who set up shop in and around London before the end of the fifteenth century to the large and influential body of tradesmen which acquired a charter in 1557. In order to move from the suburbs where they had originally operated into the city itself, and to work effectively within the city, the printers found it necessary to join a trade Company, and attached themselves to the Company of Stationers. The Stationers' Company comprised at this time booksellers, limners, bookbinders and writers of text hand, other scribes belonging to the Company of Scriveners. (1). But the rapid growth of the printing trade and the scale on which printers were able to operate, soon led to the domination of the company by those whose business was printing, or selling printed books. The Stationers' Company thus became the guild of all those whose jobs were centred on the printing press. As such it exercised all the usual controls over its members to ensure the maintenance of standards and to enforce its monopoly over all practitioners of that craft. As with other trade companies, the Stationers enforced regulations concerning the binding and government of apprentices, the enforcement of city rules such as the respecting of holy days, the proper course to be taken to arbitrate between members and to maintain peace in the brotherhood, rules for civic ceremonial, for the care of widows and orphans and for the relief of the impoverished. The Stationers had precise rules about the materials and methods to be used in the binding of books, the size of editions

(1) Cyprian Blagden, The Stationers' Company; a History, 1403 - 1959.
(1960.)

which could be set up by one compositor, and the rights which a printer had to any copy which he had been the first to print. The rules governing the ancient craft of bookbinding were much more precise than those concerning the methods of printing, the latter craft still being comparatively experimental.

With the expansion of the book trade the Stationers' Company grew in strength and began to work towards the enforcement of an efficient monopoly over printing and bookselling throughout the country. In 1484 King Richard's concern for the establishment of the new trade, and his scholarly interest in the availability of books, caused him to exempt the printing trade from rules designed to prevent foreigners from setting up shops in London. The statute 1 Ric. III, cap. 9, which was concerned mainly with the cloth trade, included the following clause;

"Provided always that this Act or any part thereof, or any other act made or to be made in this present Parliament, in no wise extend or be prejudicial, any let, hurt or impediment to any Artificer or merchant stranger of what nation or country he be or shall be of, for bringing into this realm, or selling by retail or otherwise, of any manner books written or imprinted, or for the inhabiting within the said Realm for the same intent, or to any writer, limner, binder or imprinter of such books as he hath or shall have to sell by way of merchandise, or for their abode in the same Realm for the exercising of the said occupations..." (1)

This exemption enabled a number of printers from the Low Countries, men like Wynkyn de Worde and W. de Machlinia, or from Normandy, like Pynson and Facques, to establish a thriving printing and publishing trade in and around London. For the first two decades of the sixteenth century these close links with France and the Netherlands were maintained, but as a second generation of native printers arose to swell the ranks, some dissatisfaction with the domination by foreigners began to appear. By the 1520s there were English printers at work whose wealth and influence rivalled that of the foreigners. John Rastell later told Cromwell that during the days of his prosperity he was earning more by printing two or three hundred reams of paper every year than he earned by the law "in pleading in Westminster Hall". Since his law practice earned him at least 40 marks a year he was obviously making a lot of money from his printing. (2)

During the 1520s the London Stationers began to make some inroads

(1) S.R. Vol. 11, p.493 .

(2) D.N.B. John Rastell.

on the privileges conferred on foreigners in 1 Ric.111, cap.9. There was already a custom among them that no free man should take a foreigner as an apprentice. This debarred foreigners from ever becoming free men of the Company unless they were able to buy their way in, and this was a very difficult process. (1) In 1523 an act limiting the taking of apprentices by strangers did not exclude the printers, and this act strengthened the control of the Company by enacting that all aliens exercising a craft in London were to be under the search and reformation of the wardens and fellowships of their craft. One alien of the same craft was to accompany the wardens on any such searches. (2) In 1529 another act was passed which increased the difficulties of foreign tradesmen in London and further enhanced the status of the Company. 21 Hen.VIII, cap 16 forbade any alien to set up shop in London unless he was a denizen and subjected all alien householders in London and the suburbs to the same charges as native householders. It also ordered all strangers both aliens and denizens to swear an oath of allegiance to the King before the Master and Warden of their craft. (3) The financial disincentives to alien merchants to work in London were now considerable. To function at all they had to pay for denizenship, and even then they received little protection from arbitrary fiscal pressures. In 1515 they had been required to pay a double subsidy, and now in 1529 they were forced to bear the same costs as citizens without enjoying the same privileges. These financial pressures, together with the growing numbers of native competitors and the increasing power of the Company, led to a considerable reduction in the proportion of foreign printers working in London. Nevertheless, a large number of the books sold in London, particularly legal and liturgical texts, were still printed abroad, mainly in Normandy and the Low Countries.

The Act of 1533 went a long way towards checking the import of books printed abroad. This Act was, presumably, the result of pressure from the bookbinders, for it stipulated that no bound books whatsoever were to be imported. It also prohibited aliens from selling any books on the retail market, thereby giving the London stationers the ability to

(1) see below p.106.

(2) 14 and 15 Hen. VIII, cap. 2. S.R.Vol.111, p.208.

(3) S.R. Vol. 111, p.297.

control the supply and the price of all books sold in London. To prevent London booksellers from seizing the opportunity to inflate book prices unduly, the Lord Chancellor was given the power to fix a fair price. The preamble to this statute demonstrates most forcibly that the London printers felt that they were now perfectly capable of standing on their own feet and needed no assistance from any foreigners;

"Whereas by the provision of a statute made in the first year of the reign of King Richard the third, it was provided ... that all strangers repairing into this Realm might lawfully bring into the said realm printed and written books to sell at their liberty and pleasure; by force of which provision there hath comen into this realm since the making of the same a marvellous number of printed books and daily doth; And the cause of the making of the same provision seemeth to be, for that there were but few books and few printers within this realm at that time which could well exercise and occupy the said science and craft of printing; Nevertheless, since the making of the said provision, many of this Realm being the King's natural subjects have given them so diligently to learn and exercise the said craft of printing that at this day there be within this realm a great number cunning and expert in the said science or craft of printing as able to exercise the said craft in all points as any stranger in any other Realm or Country..."

The Act goes on to complain that there are many expert bookbinders in England whose livelihood is threatened by the import "from beyond the sea" of "great plenty of printed books." The exemption clause of 1. Ric.111. cap.9 is therefore repealed. (1)

The claim that London printers were "as able to exercise the said craft as any stranger" was not strictly accurate. There were still many aspects of printing in which London craftsmen were inexpert, and the effect of this ban on foreign books was felt, particularly in the field of the finer liturgical works, especially those involving the printing of music. Such works disappeared almost entirely from the bookshops. (2) The various laws concerning religious practices which were passed in the 30s also made publication for the English market too risky for foreign publishers. The impact of these religious changes and of the ban on bound books affected the service book trade more directly than any other because the great majority of books imported prior to 1534 were liturgical works. Breviaries, for example,

(1) 25 Hen. Vlll, cap.15. S.R. Vol.111, p.456.

(2) See ch.111 for a discussion of the production of Service books.

which had been almost exclusively printed abroad, ceased to appear in English bookshops, dropping from a total of sixty editions before 1535 to one solitary edition in 1543/4 until the accession of Mary produced a spate of 12 new editions. Obviously the Dissolution of the Monasteries was a major factor in the collapse of the market for such books. But legislation such as that of 1536 which outlawed all references to the pope, also caused difficulties for foreign printers. The great Parisian printer Francis Regnault, whom Cromwell employed to print his Great Bible, was left with large numbers of useless service books on his hands by these two Acts of 1534 and 36, and Coverdale and Grafton intervened with Cromwell on his behalf, his own letter to the secretary having produced no results. Explaining that

"Whereas of long time he hath been an occupier into England, more than 40 year, he hath always provided such books for England as they most occupied, so that he hath a great number at the present in his hands as *Primers* in English, Missals with other such like: whereof now, (by the company of the Booksellers in London) he is utterly forbidden to make sale, to the utter undoing of the man",

Coverdale and Grafton add that, in order to avoid the mistakes of which the Stationers complained, he will only print English works when they have been corrected by "an English man that is learned". (1) There is no evidence that this intervention led to any relaxation of the Stationer's Monopoly, but Cromwell's use of Regnault for the Great Bible may have been intended as some compensation for the losses the Parisian printer had suffered through being unable to sell his English Prayer Books.

The disappearance of these foreign service books was evidently not regretted, for it enabled the government to enforce both the Royal Supremacy and whatever degree of reform it favoured, with much greater ease. The Patent granted to Grafton and Whitchurch in 1544 for the printing of service books expressed clearly the views of both the Stationers and the government;

..."where in times past, it hath been usually accustomed that these books of divine service, and prayer books (that is to say) the Mass Book, the Grail, the Hymnal, the Antiphoner, the Processional, the Manual, the Porteous and the Primer, both in Latin and also in English, have been printed by strangers, as well within

(1) E. Gordon Duff, A Century of the English Book Trade, 1457 - 1557, (Bibliographical Society 1905,) p. xxiii.

this our Realm as also in other foreign and strange countries, partly to the great loss and hindrance of our subjects, who both have the sufficient art feat and trade of printing, and by imprinting such books might profitably and to the use of the commonwealth be set on work, and partly to the setting forth of the Bishop of Rome's usurped authority, and keeping the same in continual memory, contrary to the decrees, statutes and laws of this our realm..." (1)

For these reasons the patent in such books is granted to Grafton and Whitchurch.

By the end of the 1530s the English book trade had passed firmly into the hands of the London printers, and it became increasingly difficult for a foreigner to gain entrance. Even Reyner Wolf, whose court connections and links with Continental printing houses made him a man of considerable influence, had difficulty gaining admittance to the Stationers. Wolf had come to England as early as 1530, possibly at the invitation of Cranmer, and worked both as a bookseller and as an unofficial envoy from the English Court to the German protestants. In 1533 he took letters of denization and in 1536 he applied for membership of the Stationers' Company, Anne Boleyn being his sponsor. Despite the eminence of his patroness, Wolf was only granted his freedom after more pressure had been put on the Lord Mayor and Common Council. In 1539 Berthelet attempted to get citizenship for "a certain foreigner" and failed, despite the intervention of Cromwell. The Mayor and Aldermen told him that only one foreigner had been made free in 40 years, but Berthelet considered that this was an underestimate. The only foreigner apart from Wolf to be made free of the Stationers was Simon Martynson, who was made free at the request of the King in 1538. (2)

During the last decade of Henry's reign, books continued to come into the country, mostly protestant polemics smuggled in from the Low Countries through Ipswich and other East Coast ports. But the bulk of the books on sale openly in the London book shops were now English printed. Not that the London stationers yet enjoyed a complete monopoly; printing houses existed in several cities in England before 1557, including St. Albans, York, Ipswich, Gloucester and Canterbury.

(1) This version of the patent is found in Portiforium Secundū usum Sarū, "noviter impressū, et a plurimis purgatum mendis. In quo nomen Romano pontifici falso ascriptu omittuit; una cum aliis que christianissimo nostri Regis statuto repugnant" Grafton and Whitchurch, 1544.

(2) Duff, Century, p.xx and p. 101.

During the reign of King Edward VI the number of books printed outside the capital increased with the general increase in printing activity. At the same time the protestant sympathies of the government caused a new wave of foreign workers to pour into London. The financial situation of the poorer book men was aggravated by this influx, at a time when these Stationers were already being hit hard by inflation and a steady fall in the price of books. Writing in 1582 Christopher Barker described the situation under Edward.

"In the time of King Henry VIII there were but few printers, and those of good credit and competent wealth, at which time and before, there was another sort of men that were writers, lymners of books and divers things for the Church and other uses called Stationers; which have, and partly to this day do use to buy their books in gross of the said printers, to bind them up, and sell them in their shops, whereby they well maintained their families. In King Edward VI his days, printers and printing began greatly to increase; but the provision of letter and many other things belonging to printing was so exceeding chargeable that most of those printers were driven through necessity to compound before hand with the booksellers, at so low value, as the printers themselves were most times small gainers and often losers." (1)

As a result of these economic difficulties, pressure mounted within the Company for a Charter that would give the London stationers a complete monopoly. The first suggestion of incorporation appears, in fact, to date from 1551, when the actual terms may well have been worked out. (2) The Act of 1554 which ordered all foreigners, and especially foreign bookworkers, to leave London, had as its intention the stamping out of protestant opinions, but it also had the effect of alleviating some of the financial difficulties of the Stationers. The acquisition of a Charter however, remained a central preoccupation of the Stationers, and they prepared for it by buying and decorating Peter's College as a new Company Hall, and by purchasing a grant of arms.

In 1557 the Charter was finally granted, and has since occasioned some debate as to whether it was essentially a piece of trade legislation, or whether it should be viewed as part of the government's campaign against illegal books. (3)

(1) E.Arber, A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London, 1554 - 1640, (1875) Vol, 1. p.xx.

(2) Cyprian Blagden, op.cit.p.31.

(3) R.B.McKerrow, A Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers 1557-1640 (Bibliographical Society 1910) considered that "the granting of a Charter to the Stationers, though ostensibly intended to benefit the book trade, was undoubtedly dictated in the main by the wish more effectively to control it" p.X.

Duff, Century, agrees with this view.

See also Graham Pollard, "The Company of Stationers before 1557"

in Library, 4th Series. Vol,xviii, (1937)p.1. and Cyprian Blagden op.cit. p.31.

The preamble would seem to suggest the latter, for it states ~~that~~ the Charter was granted to provide a remedy for the fact that "certain seditious and heretical books, rhymes and treatises are daily published and printed by divers scandalous, malicious, schismatical and heretical persons, not only moving our subjects and lieges to sedition and disobedience against us, our crown and dignity, but also to renew and move very great and ^{te}destable heresies against the faith and sound catholic doctrine of Holy Mother Church" (1) To cope with this situation the Company was granted a Charter declaring that no one was to print unless he was a member of the Company, or licensed by letter patent. The officers of the Company were empowered to search for illegal books and punish offenders with three months imprisonment and a fine of £ 5, half of which was to go to the crown and half to the Company. The Charter also conveyed powers to make any ordinances the officers desired, provided that they were agreeable to the laws of the realm.

The granting of the Charter did have the effect of centralising all printing activity in London. The last printing house to operate outside the capital, that of John Mychell in Canterbury, issued its last book in 1556. Mychell had been in difficulties for some time, perhaps because of his association with the exiled printer Edward Whitchurch, and his efforts to protect his rights in his own compilation "A Breviat Chronicle" had been unsuccessful. London printers pirated editions of his work in 1555 and 56, and after the Canterbury office had closed they continued to issue editions of Mychell's chronicle. Mychell's struggles to enforce his copy right, and his difficulties in operating a printing shop in Canterbury must have been aggravated by the incorporation of the London Stationers, but it is clear that his business had well nigh failed before the Charter was granted. Similarly, all the other provincial presses that had been in operation when the Charter was first discussed in 1551 had vanished by 1557. (2) Humphrey Powell's book shop in Dublin was the only surviving stationer's outside London, and his press does not appear to have been functioning at this time. But if the Charter did not actually cause the closure of provincial presses, it did operate to prevent the opening of new offices outside London when the accession of Elizabeth removed the restraints under which printers had been operating. In 1583 Christopher Barker and Francis Caldock argued against

(1) Arber, Transcript, p. xxxiii.

(2) See ch. 11 for the effect of Mary's accession on the Edwardian patentees.

the setting up of a press at Cambridge on the grounds that the London Stationers had obtained its Charter, that is, had applied and paid for a legal monopoly. (1)

The centralisation of the printing trade, whether it was the result of Incorporation or not, was clearly advantageous to a government that was striving to stamp out illegal books. It made surveillance of known printing shops much easier, and by placing the onus on the Company, encouraged a degree of corporate responsibility. But the gain was perhaps an illusory one, for heretical and seditious books were not generally printed or distributed by established London printers, and certainly not from well known London printing shops. Centralisation did nothing to help the government to detect or arrest those who were dealing in illegal and secretly printed books. In fact, nearly all the seditious literature circulating in England at this time was printed abroad and imported by colporteurs who had in general no connections with the London book trade. If the printers as a body had been sympathetic to Mary's aims, they might have been able to assist her in tracking down the source and supply of these pamphlets. In fact, as we shall see, they were generally unfriendly to Mary's religious policy, and any information which came to their ears was kept a closely guarded secret. We have no evidence of a single case in which information laid by the Stationers, or searches conducted by them, led to the trial or conviction of anyone for dealing in illegal books. On the contrary, the strong community spirit among printers which Incorporation helped to cement, appears to have operated against the detection of illegal activities and to have afforded some protection to those who were engaged in, or knew of, the distribution of hostile books. (2)

But if the Stationers were not active in assisting the government they did take action to protect their hard won monopoly. In 1557 John Cawood, the Queen's printer, who was Warden of the Company, joined with Anthony Smith, Richard Jugge and William Seres to lay information against Francis Sparye of the parish of St. Michael, Wood Street, who had offended against the Statute 25 Hen.VIII cap.15. for printers and binders of books. Sparye had purchased 178 books printed abroad and had imported them from Rouen already bound in leather and intending to sell them again. Sparye said he had the books from Robert Valentine for resale in London,

(1) Barker and Caldock to Grindall, Arber, Transcripts, vol.1, p.247.

(2) See below p.309. 310.

so it appears that they must have been service books. (1) This closed once again the trade links with Rouen and other printing centres on the continent which had been broken in 1534 and had re-opened under Mary to supply the huge demand for Catholic service books to replace those destroyed under Henry and Edward. Such action underlines once again that the Company's overriding concern was the protection of its business interests whether these interests were in harmony with the governments' religious policy, or in conflict with it.

Preoccupation with its monopoly rights, and with the enforcement of its craft rules was the main characteristic of the Stationers, as of most other companies. The fines imposed upon its members give a fair indication of the matters which most concerned it. The first batch of fines of which we have evidence is for the period 1554 - 57, but there is no reason to suppose that the offences punished differed greatly from those of previous years. In this period Thomas Gemini, stranger, was fined for calling a brother "false knave", Richard Hill for fighting with an apprentice, Nicholas Cleston for uncourteous words to Conrad Miller, John Sherman for misnaming William Hill, James Sheares for misbehaviour with an apprentice, and Conrad Miller, also for name calling, presumably of Nicholas Cleston. These fines reflect the difficulty which many trade companies had in controlling their apprentices and young journeymen. During this period there was also one entry concerning a book, and Tottle was fined for binding books in sheep's leather. (2)

The second batch of fines for which we have records are for the year of the Incorporation, 1557/8. In this year William Griffith was fined for an offence to a warden, Thomas Marsh for disobedience, Tottle for ill binding, Marsh again, and Abraham Vele for unnamed offences, Gamlyn and Foxe for non appearance on quarter day, and Pepwell for selling books on 27 June, contrary to ordinance. Two men were also fined for unlicensed printing. But the most noticeable facet of the records for 1557/8 is the very large number of copies that were entered. It would seem that for the Company the most significant result of Incorporation was that the rules for entering copies were standardised. Before a book could be printed it had first to be licensed by the censoring authority (3)

(1) H.J.Byrom, "Some Exchequer Cases involving Members of the Book Trade. 1534 - 58" in The Library, 4th series, Vol,XVI, p.402.

(2) Arber, Transcripts, Vol. 1, p.44,45.

(3) See below p. 65 ff.

and then registered by the Company at which registration a fee was paid. Once he had registered the copy, a printer had the sole right to print that work until he sold the right to another printer. This system, which had evolved over the previous decades, was evidently formalised on incorporation. The first entry in the Registers which mentions this rule occurs in 1555.

"Also it is agreed for an offence done by master Walley for counselling the printing of A Brief Chronicle contrary to our ordinances, before he did present the copy to the wardens and his fine to be paid within xiiii days after this order taken. XX s " (1)

This was a very heavy fine, and the following year there was a flurry of activity as many of the booksellers hastened to register their copies. A remarkable total of eighty two copies were registered in that year, under the full and explanatory title " The entering of all such copies as be licensed to be printed by the master and wardens of the mystery of stationers" (2) Meanwhile the simplified form "licensed for printing" replaced the elaborate entries of former years, and the fee stabilised at about 4d per entry.

During the following year, 1558/9, fines were imposed for a variety of offences, but about half of those fined, twelve out of twenty two, had offended by printing without license, one, Owen Rogers, having aggravated his fault by printing " half a ream of ballads of another man's copy by way of deceit". (3) But if the registration of copies was the Company's main preoccupation at this time, it continued to enforce the usual rules of conduct and workmanship, fining four booksellers for trading on Sundays, Havey and Tyrer for bad binding, Pickering and Griffith for quarrelling over Dr. Orwyn's Medicine and Holyland for misbehaving himself to the master. But it is hard to find any evidence of the Company using its Charter powers of fining and imprisonment to assist the government in its efforts at censorship. The only incidents which might have been connected with the government were the troubles encountered by Marsh in 1557/8 at a time when his premises were searched by the Council (4) and the committal to ward of Richard Lant for printing the elegiac Epitaph of

(1) Arber, Transcript, Vol. 1, p.45.

(2) Ibid. Vol. 1, p.74.

(3) ibid. Vol. 1, p. 101.

(4) See below p. 298, 299.

Queen Mary without license. Normally printing without license was dealt with only by a fine, so perhaps Lant's Catholic sympathies and the sorrowful tone of his ballad were the reasons for this harsh punishment. On the other hand it may have been simply that he was too poor to pay a fine..

The role of the Stationers' Company as a licensing agent was evidently enhanced and formalised during the period of its Incorporation, though it is important to realise that it was some years before the entering of copies became a universal practise. As a licensing body the Company might easily have become also a censoring body, and it may be that this was what the government had in mind at the time of Incorporation. However, it is clear that the Company never carried out the function, and that responsibility for censoring the press remained with the Council. Far from enforcing censorship, officers of the Company were on more than one occasion under investigation for flouting it, John Cawood's house being searched in 1557 (1) and Marsh and Kingston's premises visited in 1558, in a search for "books corruptly set forth under the name of the Bishop of Lincoln as all others as shall impugn the Catholic Faith". (2)

The Government was itself aware that the Stationers' application for a Charter was prompted by trade concerns and not a desire to assist the government. At no time did the Council envisage leaving the task of searching for illegal books to the Stationers. This task had already been given to the Commissioners for Heresy, appointed in 1556, with orders to search for heretical books, and to confiscate all such "heretical and seditious books, letters and writings, wheresoever they or any of them shall be found as well in printers' houses or shops as elsewhere within the said diocese." (3) The Council must already have had some idea of the degree of help to be expected from the Stationers, for the Wardens had had the rights of search and reformation from as early as 1523, and the Charter did not greatly increase their powers. The value of the charter lay rather in the status than in the power that it conferred. Even the dramatic preamble must be taken with a pinch of salt, for such expressions of anxiety and frustration were common place in legislation concerned with the printing trade. It appears moreover, to have been a convention of the time for Charters to cite urgent reasons for their

(1) A.P.C. VI, p.172.

(2) A.P.C. VI, pp. 346, 348 & 9.

(3) P.R.O. C/66/897 m. 20d.

creation. The Physicians Charter of 1553 confirming their Incorporation and giving them powers of search and imprisonment very similar to those granted to the Stationers, stated that a Charter was rendered necessary " for the better reformation of divers enormities happening to the commonwealth by the evil using and undue administration of Physic " and other such jeremiads. (1)

The acquisition of a Charter marked the coming of age of a craft which was still comparatively young, but which had grown rapidly in size and influence. It confirmed the monopoly of the London printers to the exclusion of provincial presses, and it restated the obligation of all printers who did not possess letters patent to belong to the Company. This did not operate to the exclusion of all foreigners for although it was well nigh impossible for a foreigner to become free of the Stationers, they were commonly admitted to the Company as brothers, a status which gave them the protection of Company membership, without all the privileges enjoyed by freemen. Under Mary, and following the proclamation of 1554 banishing foreign heretics, there were relatively few foreign bookworkers in London, but with the accession of Elizabeth a considerable number of French Huguenots, most of them bookbinders, found their way to London and were admitted as brothers to the Company.

But even after 1557 the Stationers' Company did not exercise a complete monopoly over the printing trade. There were numbers of London printers, among them some of the richest and most influential, who were members of other London companies. Grafton, for example, was an influential member of the Grocers' Company, and Kingston, Charlewood, Bradshaw and Hawes were all printing Grocers. Grafton was also a Merchant Adventurer of Antwerp, while Marler & Whitchurch belonged to the Haberdashers. Kytson, Vele and Wight were Drapers, but Vele also found it convenient to be a brother of the Stationers. Wayland was a member of the Scriveners, and John Day began his career as a Stringer, only transferring to the Stationers in 1550 when he had already produced a large number of books.

For printers and booksellers who were not members of the Stationers' Company the possession of a royal patent was essential. Patents developed during the first half of the century as a parallel on the individual level of the move towards monopoly which we have already described in the trade as a whole. Printers who had acquired a royal license, either for a particular book, or for all of that printers' works for a named period, such as the patent acquired by

(1) Statute 1 Mary St.2, cap.9. S.R. vol.IV, p.207.

Berthelet in 1538 which gave him exclusive rights for six years to all copies first printed by him, such printers were entitled to print on their issues " cum privilegio regali ". This vouched for their right to print that copy, and give the printer some protection from over-zealous ecclesiastical officials. However, the imprint " cum privilegio regali " did not imply official approval of the contents of the book, which still had to be licensed by the appropriate authority. Misunderstanding about the meaning of the phrase, which was often taken to mean that the King approved of the opinions expressed in the book, and dishonest use of it by printers who had not in fact acquired a patent, led to a tightening of the law. A Proclamation of the 16 November 1538 insisted that patents were only valid after a copy had been licensed by the censoring agent, and demanded that " the whole copy, or else at the least the effect of his license and privilege " was to be printed on each copy in English, under the words " cum privilegio regali ". These words were also to be qualified by the addition of the phrase " ad imprimendum solum " to emphasise that the privilege applied only to the printing and not to the content of the book. (1)

The original intention of these patents was to protect a printer who had gone to the trouble and expense of first putting a work in print, and of giving him a chance to gain a reasonable profit from that effort before other printers were allowed to print further editions. This was particularly important in the early days of printing when the production of a printed text from a manuscript required both time and capital. Competitors reproducing the work from a printed copy required much less time and outlay and were therefore at an advantage. A patent for six or seven years in such a copy would protect a printer against such unfair competition. Later, similar protection was sought by those involved in printing large scale or expensive works such as Bibles, Law books and Prayer books. The wording of many of the patents reflects this basic need to recover one's outlay; John Oswen's patent, granting him, as King's printer for Wales and the Marches, sole rights in official prayer books for that area for seven years, does so " so that the same John, his factors and assigns, shall and may have the profit and advantage coming and growing of the printing and reprinting of such books in recompense and alleviation of his industry, pains and charges in that

(1) Hughes and Larkin , Vol.1, p. 272. no. 186.
W.W.Greg, "Ad Imprimendum Solum" in The Library, 5th series,
Vol.1X, p.242.

behalf to be sustained." (1) For similar reasons it was appreciated that the price of Bibles and Prayer Books would be decided by the Council rather than the printer; in this way some balance could be struck between private profit, or loss, and the public interest. (2) For those who were members of the Stationers' Company the regulations concerning the entering, and respecting, of copies eventually removed the need for specific patents, but printers who were not members of the Company continued to need the protection of individual licenses. As late as 1547 we find Walter Lynne an alien printer of Dutch origin, acquiring a licence to print " a book which is called in our vulgar tongue " the beginning and ending of all popery and popish Kingdom " and all other manner of books consonant to godliness ", for seven years, on pain of a fine of £ 100. (3)

By the reign of Edward VI most patents awarded were no longer for individual copies, but for whole classes of books. Tottle held such a patent for law books, Reyner Wolf had a similar one for classics and Grafton and Whitchurch for Prayer Books. The most important of these patents was that of the King's printer, which was held respectively by Thomas Berthelet under Henry VIII, Grafton under Edward VI and Lady Jane, Cawood under Mary and Cawood and Jugge under Elizabeth. Clearly the King's printer was in a position of considerable trust and had to be both a craftsman of skill and competence and a man of some standing with the ruling regime, and in sympathy with its policies. In fact, during the first half of the sixteenth century most of the large monopolies were held by men of some wealth and education, though not necessarily members of the Stationers' Company. At this time the large patents seem to have operated mainly for the good in ensuring accurate texts and a wide variety of subjects. Wolf's patent in classics, for example, was not felt to be oppressive for he was the only printer in London who possessed any Greek founts. Tottle's law patent was sometimes challenged, but the difficulties of printing Norman French limited the number of printers anxious to operate in the area, and the protection which the patent afforded enabled him to take time in procuring an accurate text. During Elizabeth's reign however, patents began to operate against good printing, and degenerated into a

(1) P.R.O. C/66/808 m.14. 6 Jan.1549.

For details of early patents see A.W.Reed,"The Regulation of the Book Trade Before the Proclamation of 1538" in J.B.S. Vol.XV,

(1917 - 19)pp.157 - 184 .

(2) See below p. 317.

(3) C/66/ 801 m.25.

battle to corner the largest and most profitable areas of the market.

For the printer, the acquisition of a patent was a financial transaction which put a printing house on a more secure footing and invested it with a degree of status. For printers outside the company it was essential if the printer were to be allowed to trade at all. It is not surprising, therefore, to find a degree of rivalry, and even skulduggery entering the scene, which was to blossom into a full scale row in Elizabeth's reign. In 1539, for example, John Wayland sold his rights in Hilsey's Primer to John Mayler. This primer had been given to Wayland on a verbal guarantee from Cromwell, but it seems that Wayland failed to mention the verbal nature of the seven year patent that he sold to Mayler. Mayler printed his copies with a "cum privilegio" and when he discovered the nature of Wayland's deception, took him to law. (1) Wayland was a shifty character where business affairs were concerned and was often before the courts. But the value of a patent to a printer, and the importance of protecting it, was highlighted a little later by the rivalry between two more substantial printers, John Day and Reyner Wolf. Day, who was printer to Bishop Ponet, obtained from the Council a license to print the Catechism of 1552, which was mainly the work of Ponet. Wolf challenged this license in so far as it gave Day any rights to print a latin version, as an infringement of his classics' patent. In the event, Day printed only English versions and Wolf produced the latin editions. Under Elizabeth, Day was to build a considerable printing empire on the basis of accumulated patents. (2)

For the government, the selling of trade privileges was a useful way of raising additional revenue. But where the press was concerned, it also gave opportunities to exercise some control over the trade and these opportunities were used to some purpose. To begin with, the granting or with-holding of a patent was a method by which governments could reward those who favoured **their** policies with positions of influence and undermine any who might be uncooperative. (3)

(1) H.J.Byrom, "John Wayland - Printer, Scrivener and Litigant" in The Library, 4th. Series, vol. XI (1930/31) p.312.

(2) Day's patent which included a privilege in all the works of Ponet and Becon, C66/853 m.23.

(3) See Ch.11, p.224 ff.

For example, the transfer of patents from Grafton to Cawood and from Seres and Whitchurch to Wayland at the beginning of Mary's reign had the effect of purging the London Stationers of the influence of these three prominent printers. Patents granted to one printing house were also a useful way of ensuring uniformity and doctrinal acceptability. When the Primer was authorised in May 1545 " for the avoiding of the diversity of primer books that are now abroad, whereof are almost innumerable sorts ... and to have one uniform order of such books," the proclamation forbade any other primer to be bought , sold, occupied, used or taught. (1) To ensure that no other primer should get on to the market, the patent to print these primers was given to Grafton and Whitchurch and issued in form of a proclamation, forbidding not only the printing but also the buying or selling of any primers not printed by this partnership. (2) Four years earlier, a patent printed in Mayler's Sarum Primer said nothing about Mayler's rights in the copy, but announced the official translation of the Pater Noster, Ave, Creed and Ten Commandments, recited the commandment that only these translations be used, and that they be taught by all clerics to their parishioners, and finished with the order " that no man imprint or set forth any other translation upon pain of his (The King's) high displeasure." (3)

Cromwell was particularly skilled in the use of licenses to direct the book trade. His management of the early editions of the English Bible provided the English markets with sufficient numbers of Bibles at a variety of prices without ruining any of the half-dozen or so printers who ventured large amounts of money in the enterprise. He knew from personal experience that printing ventures were both costly and risky, having sunk £400 of his own money in the Great Bible which was nearly lost when the French Inquisition intervened. Edward's governments also used patents and licenses in a very deliberate way to further their campaign of protestant education, and to assist in the liturgical changes.(4)

(1) Hughes and Larkin, l. p.350. no. 248

(2) ibid. l. p. 353.

(3) Hore beate marie virginis (Sarum) (Mayler ? 1541 ?) STC 16022.

(4) See Chap. 111.

The privilege in Prayer Books granted to Grafton and Whitchurch in 1543 expressed nicely the dual role of these government licenses. On the one hand it was granted in consideration "of the great provision and expenses of so necessary works as these are, and yet the same, or the greatest part of them, not a little chargeable". On the other it was intended to prevent the production of books "to the setting forth of the bishop of Rome's usurped authority". (1) By granting a patent to one printer, the authorities were debarring all other printers from operating in that area, exercising in this way a considerable degree of control, and control, moreover, which the printers themselves would be most zealous to enforce. But a device which was useful to the government and valuable to the lucky printers, was the cause of some difficulty to printers who did not possess a privilege. Writing in Elizabeth's reign, Christopher Barker argued in favour of the patent system because of the security it offered the workmen "who cannot suddenly be provided nor suddenly put away, and if they should, must of necessity either want necessary living, or print books, pamphlets and other trifles, more dangerous than profitable" (2) And yet it was this very system which perpetuated the oligarchy within the printing trade and forced unpatented printers to turn to street literature. The increase in street literature which is noticable from c1540 onwards reflected to some extent the increase in the number of patents operating to exclude *small* printers from large areas of respectable work. At a time of general hardship, it aggravated the difficulties of the less affluent printers, causing a decline in printing standards and even driving some printers out of the trade. William Copland, for example, who possessed no patents, and dealt largely in cheap popular romances, was in serious financial difficulties by the 60s and the company was finally forced to meet his funeral expenses.

During the period under our consideration the possession of a royal license was as important^{as}, and probably more important than, membership of the Stationers' Company to a printer's prosperity. Such licenses controlled to a large extent what a stationer printed, or did not print, while Company regulations decided how the work was produced and sold. There was, however, a third type of trade regulation which a printer had to consider when ^uissuing a book. This was the set of rules

(1) See note p.8.

(2) Arber, Transcript, 1. p.115.

which governed the honest identification of printer and publisher on every copy. This identification was particularly important for the censoring authority, which, after 1530, was the Council. Anonymous or pseudonymous printers or publishers could escape the consequences of flouting the censors and could print whatever they pleased. Significantly it was the Proclamation of 1530, which switched the responsibility of censoring books from the Church to the Council, (1) which first tackled this problem. (2) This proclamation insisted that all new books on scriptural matters to be printed in English were to carry the name of the ecclesiastical examiner who had passed them, and of the printer" as he will answer to the King's Highness at his uttermost peril". We have already discussed the Act of 1539 which added the qualifying clause "ad imprimendum *solum* " to the imprint "cum privilegio regali". This proclamation also insisted that all new English books, and not just scriptural works, were to be examined, and it required that every licensed book should carry a copy of its license and privilege. Further information was required in the form of the name of the translator, if there had been one.

These provisions were repeated in the Injunctions issued the same year (3) and four years later they were further expanded in the Proclamation against unauthorised Bibles and Heretical books. (4) This proclamation included the clause "that henceforth no printer print any English book, ballad or play, without putting in his name and the name of the author and day of the print." The first copy of any new edition was then to be presented to the mayor of the printer's town, and two days were to elapse before any other copies were issued, presumably

(1) See below p.68.

(2) This Proclamation made the Council the agent for the censoring of books and, from 1530 onwards, control of the book trade rested with the Council.

The Statute of Proclamations of 1539 thus had little effect on the book trade, and the precise weight to be attached to proclamations as distinct from statutes was not an issue. Both statutes and proclamations were used to govern the trade and the printers appear to have made no distinction between them.

For discussion of the problem see G.R.Elton, 'Henry VIII's Act of Proclamations,' in English Historical Review, Vol. 75, (1960) p.208.

(3) Foxe V, p.258.

(4) L & P. Vol.17, p.79.

to allow the mayor to check that all the necessary information had been given and was correct. This clause, and the removal from the proclamation of the specific approval of Grafton's Great Bible, possibly reflected the Council's displeasure at the publication by Grafton of ballads on the death of Cromwell which he printed under a false imprint. He was also in trouble at this time for dealing in Melancthon's letter against the Six Articles.⁽¹⁾ This list of information to be printed on every book, which now included the names of the examiners, the printer, the author and translator, the date of printing and the full text, or gist of any privilege or patent, was further refined by the Act for the Advancement of True Religion of 1542. ⁽²⁾ This laid down that all books "containing matters of Religion as the King's Majesty shall by his bill assigned, allow and approve" are to carry the superscription and subscription " by the King and his Clergy", with the printer's name, dwelling place and the day and year of the printing. In 1546 the '42 Proclamation against unauthorised Bibles was reprinted.

With the accession of Edward, most of the laws concerning censorship were repealed, and presumably these requirements for detailed disclosure were ^Srecinded ^Atogether with the restrictions on the Scriptures to which they had been appended. The general disciplinary Proclamation of 28 April 1551 reasserted the requirement of examination by the King or Privy Council, but said nothing about printing the examiners' names. Mary's Proclamation of 18 August 1553 again required all copies to be licensed by the Queen, but none of the Marian legislation went into detail about the information to be displayed. ⁽³⁾ Elizabeth's Injunctions of 1559 again insisted that names of examiners be added to a copy, so perhaps under Mary the reversion to ecclesiastical censorship had rendered this information unnecessary.

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The gradual increase in government intervention in printing which this blossoming of regulations suggests, was due in part to the rapid growth of the book trade. In London, printing houses proliferated, particularly during the reign of Edward, until by the time of incorporation there were 97 members of the Stationers' Company listed on the charter

(1) See Ch. 11, p. 111.

(2) 34 and 5 Hen. VIII, cap. 1, S.R. Vol. 111, p. 894.

(3) Hughes and Larkin 1, ^{no. 371,} p. 514 and 11, p. 5, ^{no. 390.}

including 33 master printers and excluding a large number of printers who were not free of the Stationers. At the same time the output of the press increased and its nature changed from the mainly scholarly and courtly works of the earlier period, until large numbers of books on every topic and at every price were for sale. (1) While most, though not all, of the printing houses were in London, every large town had a book shop by the middle of the century, and even in the country areas books could be obtained. The travelling salesmen sold books at many local fairs, both large and small. On the continent the great fairs at Frankfurt and Strasbourg dominated the book trade, but even at a comparatively small market such as the one held at Winchester, a variety of books could be bought. Gardiner complained that Jack of Lents' Testament was being sold there, and in all probability so was Bale's Elucidation of Anne Askew's Martyrdom which was circulating widely in the area. (2) Bale himself complained in 1545 that Eck's Enchiridion was enjoying an undeservedly wide circulation. "Everywhere" he wrote "is this book sought and enquired for, in city, market and fair." (3) Apart from the markets and fairs, or from the visits of colporteurs, country folk could also acquire books either from their local shops, or from friends travelling to town. Official publications in particular were distributed widely throughout the country. At West Malling in Kent John Domeright, the local shopkeeper, kept copies of proclamations for reference and possibly for sale, though the depositions in which he is mentioned do not say definitely that he sold them. (4) Proclamations of popular interest certainly were sold to the general public. The diocese of St. David's was also apparently equipped with at least one book shop, for we know that there were in that Diocese a great number of Erasmus's Paraphrases to be sold, until George Constantine "covetously engrossed a great number of them". (5) Visitors to London were often commissioned to acquire books, like the portuass which Pastor Fredewell asked a travelling friend to buy for him, or the New Testament, which his friends thought would be a better buy. (6) The book shops in Paul's Churchyard were one of the sights of London, visited by even the most

(1) H.S.Bennett, English Books and Readers 1475 to 1557, (Cambridge) 1952

(2) J.A.Muller, The Letters of Stephen Gardiner, (Cambridge 1933) p.293
Foxe, Vol. VI, p.39.

(3) J.Harryson, (i.e. J.Bale) Yet a Course at the Romyshe foxe (Zurik,
O.Jacobson, 1543) fol.54v.

(4) S.P. 1/118 fol. 231.

(5) Foxe, Vol.VII, p.p. 8 & 15.

(6) S.P. 1/118 fo.231.

unscholarly, like the three jolly mariners of Maldon in Western Will who were curious to hear the latest ballads even though they could not read. (1) Other travellers up from the country bought books to take home to show their friends how shockingly radical the capital was. Thomas Jolye, vicar of Skipton, who was in London in 1549 on business for the Earl of Cumberland sent home "a testament of heresy, the confession of the maker thereof," presumably for this reason. (2)

There was also a constant exchange of books by post, particularly between scholars anxious to acquire the latest theological work or classical text. Much of this traffic was to and from the printing centres on the Continent which had a longer tradition of fine printing and of producing the classics than London. The Zurich letters edited by *H. Robinson for the Parker Society* are full of requests and thanks for books sent and received either as gifts or purchases. Sometimes whole libraries were purchased in this way, such as Lant's library of humanist texts, (3) or Hooper's library of Continental theologians, which he negotiated to buy at wholesale prices from Froschauer. (4) But if most of the books circulating between scholars were coming into the country some were also sent abroad, like the Welsh dictionary and Cornish writings that Hooper sent to Gessner in December 1549. (5)

It is clear that by the middle of the sixteenth century the circulation of printed books, and hence the influence of the ideas they contained, had reached even the remotest corners of the Kingdom. As Gardiner wrote of Cranmers' translation of Jonas' Catechism, this book "so printed into great number of books, were after their imprinting, to the intent aforesaid, openly and commonly sold by many and sundry book-sellers, as well of London as of other places, and came about to all the parts of the realm, or to many parts of the same, and were openly and commonly known, declared, published, read and heard of all sorts of the King's majesty's subjects of this realm. (6)"

(1) Western Wyll Upon the debate betuixte Churchyarde and Camell, (W. Powell 1552.)

(2) Clifford Letters of the Sixteenth Century, ed. A.G. Dickens, (*Surtees Soc.* cl xxii. 1962.) p.101-4.

(3) W.K. Jordan, Edward VI; the Young King. The Protectorship of the Duke of Somerset. (1968.) p.85.

(4) D.L., Vol.1, p. 89.

(6) Foxe, Vol.VI, p. 126.

(5) D.L., Vol.1, p.73.

Gardiner here highlighted another reason why the government was bound to take an increasing interest in the book trade. Not only were books reaching every corner of the realm, they were also making an increasing impact upon the lower orders of society. The spread of literacy is too large a subject to be tackled here, (1) but it seems likely that, at least by Edward's reign, nearly everyone in London could either read a little themselves, or had access to someone who could. Ballads, proclamations and the Scriptures were all read aloud by the literate to their friends and neighbours, and several of those in trouble for heresy under Mary had learned their doctrine at such readings. An Exeter martyr for example, though illiterate herself, had learned her faith "of godly preachers and godly books which I have heard read".(2) John Maundrel was also illiterate, but he always carried a New Testament with him so that if he fell in with a reader he could have it read to him.

But the frustration of not being able to read at a time when increasing number of English books were being offered to the public drove many otherwise uneducated people to learn the art. Many were fired by the desire to read the truths of their faith for themselves in the English Scriptures. Foxe mentions several gospellers who had taught themselves to read in order to be able to read the Bible. Dirick Carver, and an unnamed nail maker from Lancashire both fell into this category, while Thomas Hudson of Aylsham in Norfolk taught himself to read English so that he could read the gospel. Hudson may have been previously illiterate, or he may have been able to read Latin, as a result of a grammar school education, but never have learnt the vernacular. This would seem to have been the situation in the case of William Malden who was driven to learn English by a desire to read the Scriptures in his native tongue. (3) For the reformers such a spread of literacy was greatly to be desired for it enabled all men to understand their faith. In his homilies Cranmer urged that even the unlearned should strive to be able to read their Bibles:- "I say not nay, but a man may prosper with only hearing, but he may much more prosper with both hearing and reading." (4) He and the other reformers were also battling to improve standards of literacy among the clergy. The situation here was so bad that the Elizabethan Injunctions had to include the stipulation that clergy who were

(1) Bennett, English Books and Readers, Ch 11.

(2) Foxe, Vol. Vlll, p.498.

(3) Ibid, Vol. Vll, p.324, Vol. Vlll, p.563 and 463.

(4) Certayne Sermons or homilies appoynted by the Kynoges Maiestie, to bee declared and redde, by all persones. (1547 Grafton.) B iii r.

"but mean readers" should read the Homilies once or twice in private before they attempted it in the pulpit, so that the congregation would understand what they were saying.

For the social reformer as well as the gospeller the spread of literacy was deemed a just and healthy thing. Kett's demand that poor men's children be taught catechism and Primer reflected a feeling among the lower orders that literacy and education held the key to economic freedom and social advance, and that education must therefore be claimed as a right. Social agitators such as Crowley agreed that the opportunity to acquire knowledge was consonant with natural justice, and had the added benefit of occupying minds which might otherwise be stirring up mischief. Cranmer himself considered that intelligent children should be given the opportunity for education, whatever their social background, and that when gentlemen's sons neglected that opportunity, commoners' sons who were diligent should take precedence.

Other less weighty factors were also at work encouraging men and women of the lower orders to learn to read. Curiosity, a desire for news, and to be able to sing the latest ballad gave an appetite for literacy to even the most light minded. Copland constantly complained of the public's appetite for trivia. "News, news, news, have you any news?" was the demand he most often received. (1) An acquaintance of Gardiner's was given a book of Martin Luthers' while in London, not as a work of theology, but as news. (2) The three Maldon mariners who visit a bookshop in Paul's in Western Will were clearly not serious scholars. Asking to hear the latest ballad, they offered to pay for it, but would pay four times over to have it read to them, for, as Watkyn declared, "bookish we be not". (3) Copland's customers felt that a penny was enough to spend on a book.

For such semi-literate customers the printers produced a stream of ballads, news sheets and almanacks, some of which were specifically for them "which knoweth not a letter of the Book", "the ignorant people that is not skilled on the Book". (4) Given such encouragement, it is hardly surprising to find that by 1552 the paupers of St. Bartholomew's Hospital included literate men. (5) When Gardiner, in a letter to Somerset,

(1) F.C. Francis, Robert Copland, Sixteenth Century Printer and Translator, (Glasgow 1961.) p.33.

(2) Muller, Letters, p. 293.

(3) Western Will, fol. 2v.

(4) A Perfyte Pronostycaci on Perpetuall, (R. Wyer 1555?) A iiv.

(5) Order of the Hospital of St. Bartholomews in West Smithfield, (R. Grafton 1553.)

repeated the old view that images should be allowed to remain because they were the books of the " unlearned multitude " Somerset replied that this argument was no longer valid, but that the question to be asked now was whether the " few which can read in one or two languages (as Greek and Latin).... should pull away the English books from the rest which only understand English." (1)

With English printed books now reaching the lower orders, it was inevitable that the government would have to concern itself with the content of those books. Traditionally, opinions, attitudes and interpretations of events had reached the common people via the pulpit and the example of social superiors. With the advent of printed books and pamphlets, it became possible to by-pass these official channels and spread propaganda directly among the people. This opened up the possibility of a sixth column spreading within the country of subjects whose beliefs, ambitions and loyalties were at variance with those of the majority, or of the government. The Lollard experience had already demonstrated the possibility of such a dissenting company taking root. When asked by Denny in 1541 "how he and his other fellows would do seeing the King's grace and these great Lords of the Realm were against them"(in the matter of the Sacrament), Sebastian Newdygate replied " that they had already 2,000 books out against the blessed Sacrament in the commons' hands, with books concerning divers other matters, affirming that if it were once in the commons' heads they should have no further care. " (2) The possibility of authors and publishers sowing dissent within the nation was matched by the embarrassment which such writers, if uncurbed, could cause abroad. In his Latter Examination of Anne Askew John Bale refers to the torturing of Anne and promises " so to divulge this unseemly fact of yours in the Latin that all Christendom over it shall be known what ye are ".

Faced with this challenge to its intellectual leadership, the Tudor establishment tried a number of methods of reasserting its control. The most obvious was the enforcement of censorship in certain sensitive areas (3) but Henry's government also attempted to prevent those of the lower orders, and women, from reading the Bible on the grounds that instruction of the young by ill educated lay folk was spreading errors. (4)

(1) Somerset to Winchester, 1547. Foxe Vol.VI, p.29. .

(2) Foxe, Vol.V, App. XI111.

(3) See below p. 109.

(4) 34 and 5 Hen. VI111, cap. 1. paras. XI-XI111. S.R. 111. p.896.

Legislation concerning Bible reading constantly stressed that lay folk were to read it for their own edification, and not for the purposes of debate.(1) If any such laymen should "happen to stand in any doubt of any text or sentence" they were to "beware to take heed of their own presumptions and arrogant expositions of the letter, but resort humbly to such as be learned in Holy Scripture for their instruction in that behalf." (2)

To encourage such an attitude of humility, successive Tudor governments were engaged actively in campaigns of royalist propaganda.(3) Under Henry, during Cromwell's term of office, and under Edward, the value of the press to such a campaign was realised, but all three monarchs relied mainly on the pulpit to propagate official attitudes. Mary, in her memorandum to Pole on topics to be discussed at the Synod of 1555 gave preaching the preeminent place in the counter attack on heresy.

"Secondly, I desire that the preachers by their piety and doctrine do smother and extinguish all those errors and false opinions disseminated and spread abroad by the late preachers, making provision at the same time that no book be printed, sold or purchased, or brought into the kingdom without our license under very strict penalties." (4)

The difficulty was that whereas books could, and did, travel throughout the country, a preaching campaign was only effective in those areas where the clergy were capable of preaching and in sympathy with the accepted doctrine. For those who lived in London or the other large cities, in market towns, or along the routes travelled by the government's itinerant preachers, a vigorous preaching campaign, such as that which promulgated the Royal Supremacy had considerable impact. But large areas of rural England were left untouched by such a campaign, for a majority of the English clergy were incapable of effective preaching, a short-coming much bewailed by both English and continental reformers. Moreover, while in the past the preached word had held the greatest authority for the general public, it is clear that as the century progressed, the printed word was rapidly acquiring an often undeserved authority in the minds of the people.

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- (1) Proclamation for the Great Bible, 6 May 1541, Hughes and Larkin, Vol. 1, p.296, no. 200.
 - (2) Proclamation limiting Exposition of Scriptures, April 1539, Hughes and Larkin, Vol. 1, p.284. no. 191.
 - (3) See Chap. 3.
 - (4) Ven Cal. Vol. VI., pt.111, A p p. 1647.

Among scholars, the possibility of referring to the authority of printed texts was a valuable asset. At a time when academic debate still consisted largely of the mustering of authorities in support of a proposition, access to the printed texts of such authorities was a great advance. In such situations the printed text as much as the author came to occupy the place of an independent arbitrator to which both sides could appeal. The opportunity which the availability of such texts gave to catch an opponent in an unfortunate slip was not lost on Tudor disputants, who were ever game for a quibble. The accounts of the Marian heresy trials abound in such nit-picking, as whether Cranmer had shown his instability of mind by inserting a "not" in his second edition of Jonas's Catechism. (1)

Such foolishness apart, the printed word clearly gained in authority from its use in the law courts by both accusers and defendants, and there was a growing assumption that a text which was needed in a trial would be available. Richard Woodman, imprisoned for breaking a statute with which he was not familiar, sent out for a copy of the statutes so that he could check upon it himself. (2) On another occasion, Bishop White sent for a copy of Melancthon's Loci Communes, only to be told that all copies had been burned on order from the Council. With texts playing such an important role, it was imperative that they should be as accurate as possible, and printers vied with each other to produce their best texts, pouring scorn on their rivals when they fell short of accepted standards. Bias in editing was also taken into account, and when Gardiner was on trial under Edward and reference was made to Hilary, two copies were sent for, one printed at Basle and the other at Paris. (3)

Apart from the tendency among lawyers and scholars to appeal to printed texts, the printed word also soon displayed that capacity to convince that the mechanical process of printing seems to impose on even the most foolish and irresponsible words. The belief that whatever appears in print must be true is not a modern phenomenon, it is nearly as old as the invention itself,

(1) Catechismus. That is to say, a shorte Instruction into Christian Religion. 1548, G. Lynne. 'Fautes escaped in the pryntyng.' Kk. Vll, V a "not" to be put before "hallowed" in fol cl Vlll r.

(2) Foxe, Vol. Vlll, p. 366.

(3) Foxe, Vl. p. 461.

As Oldenall declared in 1557, "The Queen's Majesty was base born, and ... in Paul's churchyard a twopenny book might be had which should prove his saying to be true." (1) The value of such gullibility to unscrupulous propagandists was demonstrated to the government in the pamphlet war waged against Philip. A warning to take care not to give your enemy "a knife to cut your own throats and disherit your children for ever" or to "defend thyself, thy wife, thy children and thy country" seemed much more urgent and official when it appeared in print. (2) Rumours gained credibility once they had appeared in print, and the success of the campaign to render Philip and the Spaniards odious to the English demonstrated that by the middle of the sixteenth century the press was mature and influential enough to pose a genuine threat to political stability. The government clearly had no choice but to attempt to prevent the appearance of any printed matter that might disturb the allegiance of the public. (3)

2. Slander and False News.

The first attempt to impose censorship in England was the act of 1275 against the retailing of malicious tales. This act stated that:

"Forasmuch as there have been oftentimes found in the country devisers of tales, whereby discord or occasion of discord hath many times arisen between the King and his people or great men of this Realm ; for the damage that hath and may thereof ensue; It is commanded that from henceforth none be so hardy to tell, or publish any false news or talesand he that doth so, shall be taken and kept in prison until he hath brought him into the court, which was the first author of the tale." (4)

In 1389 a provision was added to the effect that if the tale teller could not find the originator of his tale he was to be punished by the Council himself (5)

The two problems concerning the government here were those of the slander of great men (6) and of rumour. In a society in which the common people were largely ignorant of great events or policies, rumour was a natural outcome of curiosity, imagination, or anxiety. But rumour has a natural tendency to pessimism, to look for new taxes, defeat in battle, risings in distant parts of the realm, sickness,

(1) Placita Coram Rege in P.R.O. KB/27/1184r. Rex 12d.

(2) A Warning for England, Conteyning the horrible practises of the King of Spain. 1555. A 2r.v. A3r.

(3) D.M.Loades, "The Theory and Practise of Censorship in the Sixteenth Century", in I R H S ., fifth series, vol.24, (1974)

(4) 3 Ed.1, cap.34, SR. vol.1, p.35.

(5) 12 Ric.11, cap.11 SR. vol.11, p.59.

(6) See below page 37 .

death, scandal and every kind of disaster, both natural and unnatural. It therefore tended to spread alarm and discontent and could be highly disruptive, especially at times of change or difficulty, when gossip was most rife. As a result, most major upheavals were accompanied by legislation to prevent rumour mongering.

In 1487 a Proclamation against false news was issued in which spreaders of "feigned, contrived and forged tidings and tales", who, "neither dreading God nor his highness, utter and tell again as though they were true", were to produce the author of the tale or be sent to the pillory.(1) A Proclamation of 1536 put the blame for the Lincoln rising on slanderous, false and detestable rumours, tales and lies, not only to alienate the true and loyal heart of our people "from their natural love for the King, but also to procure and stir up division, strife, commotion, contention and sedition among our people" This proclamation also mentions the content of some of these rumours, including the confiscation of gold, fines for weddings, christenings, and burials, (a recurrent rumour, this) and the imposition of licenses to eat bread, wheat, pig, goose or capon.(2)

Another proclamation, of 1547, enlarged on the dangers of such rumours.

"Forasmuch as the King's highness is informed that there hath been now of late divers lewd and light tales told, whispered and secretly spread abroad by uncertain authors in markets, fairs and alehouses in divers and sundry places of this realm, of innovations and changes in religion and ceremonies of the Church feigned to be done and appointed by the Kings highness, the Lord Protector and other of his highness' Privy Council, which by his grace or them was never begun nor attempted; and also of other things and facts sounding to the dishonour and slander of the King's most royal majesty, the Lord Protector's grace and other the King's most honourable council, and no less the disquietness and disturbance of the King's highness' loving subjects....." the King, "pondering the great hurt, damage, loss and disquietness amongst his graces subjects which might ensue", is determined to enforce the statutes existing to deal with the problem. (3)

The events of 1549 gave ample opportunity to rumour mongers, and several of the tales cited in respect to the Lincoln rising, such as the tax on geese and pigs, and restriction on baptism, reappeared in the West Country at the time of the rising. (4) A Proclamation

(1) Hughes and Larkin, Vol.1, p.12, no.11.

(2) Hughes and Larkin, Vol.1, p.244, no.168.

(3) Proclamation 24 May 1547, Hughes and Larkin, Vol.1, p.387. no.281.

(4) Pocock N.(ed) Troubles Connected with the Prayer Book of 1549, Camden Society, new series, Vol.38,(1884) p.16.

was accordingly issued, offering a reward for information leading to the arrest of "light, lewd, idle, seditious, busy and disordered persons", who travel around and "stir up rumours, raise up tales, imagine news, whereby they seek to stir, gather together and assemble the King's true subjects...divulging to the people such kind of news as they think may most readily move them to uproars and tumults" (1). In October, Somerset's desperate efforts to retain power produced another crop of rumours, and the Council reacted with a string of proclamations denouncing all of Somerset's actions, including his attempts to "spread most false bruits and rumours abroad against the Council" (2). One of the proclamations, of the 30th October, ordered the arrest of "certain lewd and seditious persons" who "spread abroad and declare, publish and put into men's heads that the good laws made for religion should now be altered and abolished and the old Romish service, mass, and ceremonies eftsoons renewed and revived" (3).

The instability of Edward's reign inevitably increased the amount of gossip, speculation and rumour-mongering which went on, and the Council had a busy time trying to track down the origins of these tales. There were rumours that Dudley was minting his own coin, that Edward was dead, that there was to be further debasement, or that England was about to be over-run by the French. Among the most dangerous were those that concerned the coinage. Confidence in the value of money was essential to the conduct of trade, and rumours of further devaluations resulted in reluctance to trade, hoarding of commodities, scarcities and high prices. These economic disruptions produced a great deal of discontent and posed a definite threat to domestic peace. They played a considerable part in the disturbances in Norfolk in 1549, encouraged, no doubt, by repeated government interference with coin values and by the high level of inflation which aggravated the economic fears of the public. As the proclamation of the 24 July 1551 put it,

"it has come to pass that by the spreading of false and untrue rumours, the prices of all things are grown so excessively that it is intolerable for his loving subjects to endure it, by reason that certain lewd persons of their own light heads have imagined that because his highness hath already somewhat abated the value of his said coin, therefore his majesty should yet more abase it, and of their imaginations have uttered this fond rumour". (4)

(1) Proclamation 8 July 1549. Hughes and Larkin, Vol.1, p.469, no.337

(2) Proclamation "the very trowth of the Duke of Somerset's evel Government". Troubles Connected, p. 95.

(3) Proclamation 30 Oct. 1549. Hughes and Larkin, Vol. 1, p. 484, no.352.

(4) Proclamation 24 July 1551. Hughes and Larkin, Vol. 1, p. 528, no.378.

As a result of this rumour trade was seriously dislocated, but as was often the case, it was a well founded belief. The government was in fact planning further devaluation, but was anxious to keep this a secret till the very last minute. The letter which the Council sent to the Chancellor the following October ordering the proclamation of devaluation, included the command "to keep the same close from going abroad until the King's Majesty's pleasure shall be further signified." (1) This proclamation caused such a furor when it was finally published that relations between the city and the Council became very strained. Further abuse was heaped upon the Council, and particularly on Northumberland, who had intervened to keep down the price of beef, "whereupon there arose tales that the said Earl should say that the day come that a mutton should be worth xxs, which slanderous words, and also reporting by him that where we had one stranger we should have one hundred, with other slanderous words, caused the King's Majesty's Council to take high displeasure with the citizens of London." (2) This link between inflation and xenophobia added greatly to the unrest in London during Edward's reign, when an unusually large number of foreigners were living in the city. They've described the situation in the Advices which he sent home in the Spring of 1551,

"A rumour has recently been going the rounds here, to the effect that in the last year or two 40,000 or 50,000 foreigners have come to England and that most of them are living in London, which has caused the high prices of food and lodgings. Evil disposed persons have taken advantage of this to assert that prices would not go down unless all these foreigners were slaughtered; and the people have rather welcomed the idea." (3)

So alarmed were many of the foreigners at the rumour that numbers of them left the capital.

The rumour current in the winter of 1551/2 that Warwick was minting his own coin arose more from fear of his political ambitions than from economic worries. If he had indulged in such activities, it would have been proof of treasonable pretensions towards the crown, all matters of coinage being part of the royal prerogative. (4) So serious did this rumour become that a specific proclamation had to be issued that no man should speak ill of the new coin, "for because

(1) A.P.C. 111, p.387.

(2) Wriothesley, Vol.11, p.48.

(3) Span.Cal, Vol. X, 1550-52. p. 278/9.

(4) 25 Ed.111, st.5, cap2, S.R. Vol.1, p.320.

that the people said divers that there was the ragged staff." (1)

The coinage problem recurred in December 1556, when panic set in in the city over the repayment by the Queen of her debts. This raised fears of a debasement and produced a rapid inflation. As a result, a Proclamation was issued on 28th December forbidding anyone to speak of the debasement of currency, or to refuse it at its face value. (2) In 1562 another scare provoked by rumours of devaluation resulted in "the satisfaction only of a sort of covetous people which thereby enhance the prices of their wares." It needed two Proclamations to quell this particular rumour. (3)

Mary's reign produced two other proclamations concerning rumours. The first appeared immediately after her accession, to quieten the turmoil into which Northumberland's bid for power had thrown the country. This spoke of "divers light and seditious persons, delighting in continual alterations and never contented with the present estate," who "spread and publish many false, untrue and vain rumours and bruts, rashly discoursing upon the great and most weighty affairs touching the Queen's highness' royal person and state of the realm, contrary to their bounden duties of allegiance and contrary to all good order." The methods laid down to deal with the problem were the traditional ones. (4)

The second of Mary's proclamations concerning rumours was issued in 1558 in an attempt to check the mood of dispondency into which the French wars had plunged the country. Complaining of malicious rumours intended to put the Queen's subjects into "sudden terror or fear" (presumably of military defeat) it nevertheless contented itself with urging loving subjects not to "give any manner of faith or credit unto the same, but to repute them to be most falsely imagined." This gentle wording was exceptional, for it was generally held that those who spread gossip did so from a malignant desire to cause trouble. The Proclamation of 28 April 1551 included the spreading of rumours with the printing of bills, vagrancy, gaming and rioting as misdemeanours which sprang from "the corrupt nature and ill disposition of naughty men." (5)

(1) Grey Friars, p.72.

(2) Ven. Cal, Vol.6, part 2. p.868. Michiel to the Doge and Senate, Dec.14 1556 Further letters of Michiel on the subject, Dec.21 p.878 and Dec.28 .p.889. Proclamation 22 Dec. 1556 Hughes and Larkin Vol.11, p.72, no.431.

(3) Proclamation 20 Jan. 1562. Hughes and Larkin Vol.11, p.181, no.488. Proclamation 13 March 1562. ibid. Vol.11, p.185, no.492.

(4) Proclamation 28 July 1553. Hughes and Larkin, Vol.11, p.4, no.389.

(5) Proclamation 28 April 1551. Hughes and Larkin Vol.1, p.514, no.371.

In fact, while most rumours were probably spread by innocent gossips, there clearly was some deliberate manipulation of public opinion by carefully cultivated rumours and scares. The picture of the Spaniard as a haughty, rapacious and cruel conquerer was spread with some deliberation, not least, it would appear, by those connected with the French Embassy. But the government itself was quite capable of using rumour for its own purposes. The Council which waxed so indignant in 1549 at Somerset's manipulation of public opinion, had written to Lord Russel in July advising the following method of dealing with the rebels; ... "by spreading abroad rumours of their devilish behaviour, cruelty, abominable livings, robberies, murders, and such like "they suggest he will" bring such a detestation of them amongst the common people, and few, we think, will repair towards them." (1) As for the rumours of the return of the Latin mass which Northumberland's Council lamented in October 1549, such rumours were of obvious advantage to Northumberland in the crucial days of the coup d'etat and the sincerity of his lamentations might be questioned.

Most of the legislation against false news was concerned mainly with the problem of verbal misdemeanours. There was a general, and well-founded, belief that "of the sufferance of such lewd liberty of speaking, evil doings and attempts have many times followed." (2) But among the evil doings that often followed spoken offences, was the production of hand bills and broadsides, often containing highly seditious remarks, which would appear scattered on the streets or pinned on doors during the night. This link between handbills and rumours was recognised by the Interrogatories issued to Church Wardens in 1558. Article XVIII enquired whether there were any parishioners that invented slander " or that hath invented, bruted or set forth any rumours, false or slanderous tales or slanders, or of any makers, bringers in, buyers, sellers, readers, keepers or conveyors of any unlawful letters, books or writings, stirring or provoking sedition within this realm....." (3)

These productions were always taken seriously by the Council. In March 1550, for example, when seditious bills appeared in Bristol, the Council sent word to the Mayor to do all he could to discover the Perpetrators, and at the same time to put the city in a state of alert to deal with any " lewd attemptates of the seditious." (4) Such anxiety about the maintenance of public order was understandable in the light of the extreemly seditious nature of some of these bills. "Stand firm and

(1) Troubles Connected, p.23.

(2) Proclamation 28 July 1553, Hughes and Larkin, Vol. 11, p.4, no. 389.

(3) Interrogatories upon which and everye part of the same the Church Wardens shalbe charged. (1558. Caly) Aiiiij r.

(4) A.P.C. 11, p.421.

gather together, and we will keep the Prince of Spain from entering the Kingdom," was the whole inflammatory message of one such bill.(1) Another, of October '49, ran " Good people, in the name of God and King Edward, let us rise with all our power to defend him and the Lord Protector..." (2) Both Wyatt and the attackers of Scarborough Castle issued bills proclaiming their aims and motives and urging the public to rally to their side. (3) Renard, ever watchful for sedition, described in March 1555 how " several gentlemen and others had proposed to publish broadsheets in several regions of this Kingdom and specially in Hampshire, proclaiming that..." A list of grievances and demands followed which the gentlemen had evidently varied to appeal to local opinion, and which included no more enclosure of commons, Courtenay to be King, the foreigners to be driven out, the Protestant faith restored, Elizabeth to be set free, and to marry Courtenay. They also made the charge that the Queen intended to pass off a supposit ious son as her own heir. The purpose, Renard sagely added, " was to stir up a revolt." (4)

Such publications were particularly dangerous at time of weakness or the threat of war. The possibility of external enemies appealing to internal traitors, and the use of broadsides to undermine an enemy's morale, were both ploys with which sixteenth century diplomats were familiar.(5) When Nicholas Bacon addressed Star Chamber on the dangers of dissenting literature, the awareness of a Spanish Army camped in the Netherlands under the leadership of the Duke of Alva no doubt gave an edge to his eloquence. (6)

It was the rabble rousing potential of this kind of street literature which most concerned the government. In 1549 the Proclamation offering a reward for information of seditious bills included a clause offering a reward for the apprehension of any person that "by ringing of any bells, striking of drums, proclamations, bills or letter, or any other way, shall labour to stir the people and to make them rise." (7) This provision was repeated in the Act for Punishment of Unlawful Assembly, 1550, which made the summoning of an assembly by sounding bells or trumpets, lighting

(1) Span Cal, Simon Renard to the Emperor, April 7 1554, Vol.12, p.213.

(2) S.P.Edward 10./9. fol.12.

(3) Strype, E.M., Vol.111, p.515.

(4) Span Cal, Vol.X111, p. 147. Simon Renard to the Emperor, 27 March 1555.

(5) See Ch.111.

(6) See below p. 56.

(7) Troubles Connected, p.109

beacons, or by setting up or casting of any bills, bill or writing whatsoever, a felony punishable by death, without benefit of clergy or sanctuary. This was in fact the felony of which Somerset was found guilty.

Seditious bills of this type rarely found their way into print. They were in general too immediate to wait on a press, and too dangerous for any printer to handle. Occasionally, as perhaps with some of the Somerset bills, the quantity of which so alarmed the government, a printed bill would contain directly seditious matter. Certainly the legislation described above, both that concerning rumour and that intended to deal with hand bills, would have included within its scope any printed matter which appeared, retailing rumours, or trying to raise the commons. But most of the printed broadsides which appeared fell more within the area of the scandal laws, reflecting as they did the rivalries and fluctuating fortunes of the statesmen of the day. The publication of comments upon the activities and fate of great men was in fact against the law. The Act of 1275 against malicious tales prohibited the slander of great men (1) and an act of 1378 specifically warned against

"devisers of false news, and of horrible and false lies, of prelates, Dukes, Earls, Barons and other nobles and great men of the Realm, and also of the Chancellor, Treasurer, Clerk of the Privy Seal, Steward of the King's House, Justices of the one bench or of the other, and of other great officers of the realm, of things which by the said prelates, lords, nobles and officers aforesaid were never spoken, done nor thought in great slander of the said prelates... whereby debates and discords might arise betwixt the said lords, or between the lords and the Commons, which God forbid, and whereof great peril and mischief might come to all the Realm, and quick subversion and destruction of the said Realm if due remedy be not provided."

Offenders were to be subject to the penalties provided in the law of 1275.(2)

As we have seen, these penalties were refined in later acts which made the teller of the tale punishable if he could not find the originator, and laid down the pillory as the penalty for such tales. This form of punishment was commonly used against those who spoke ill of powerful men, and particularly in the later part of Edward's reign and under Mary the pillories were well occupied. Such public chastisement

(1) See above p.30.

(2) 2 Ric.11, st.1. cap.V. S.R. Vol.11, p.9.

contained the element of penance and retraction which it was hoped would counter the effect of the original slander, and deter other gossips. Those pilloried often wore large placards describing the offence. Edmund Finche, for example, who was pilloried at Dartford in 1545 for slandering Sir Thomas Cheyney, wore a paper on his head written in great letters "For slanderous words of the King's Council." (1) On other occasions, perhaps when the slander was of the type which was best not repeated even in a recantation, the Council would act against a slanderer. When Thomas Love spread slanderous reports of Signor Figoria and Mr. Secretary Bourne, he was imprisoned in the Marshalsea. (2) The Council was well aware that criticism of the King's councillors was often a transparent method of criticising the King. Wyatt for example, declared "we seek no harm to the queen but better counsel and counsellors." (3) Henry VIII took the view that criticism of his councillors implied dissent from his judgement of men and infringement of his prerogative and was therefore, by extension criticism of himself. This was why the production of broadsides defending Thomas Cromwell shortly after the King had seen fit to have him executed, was considered seditious. (4)

Attacks on the King via his councillors, or attacks on councillors or magistrates in general, such as that of Lermouth the Scot, were justly viewed as seditious. But great statesmen and politicians considered as individual personalities, were evidently thought to be fair game. Bills and ballads plotting the fate of such eminent men abounded as the political broadside came into its own. (5) With the fall of Cromwell in 1540 the tight surveillance that he had exercised over the printing trade was removed and street literature blossomed. Every politician was considered a suitable target for a lampoon. Norfolk complained in his imprisonment that he had been attacked in this way, and Cranmer commented in his Purgatio that he had been "well exercised these twenty years to suffer and bear evil reports and lies." He adds that he had "not been much grieved thereat." (6) During Edward's reign Underwood found it necessary

(1) A.P.C. Vol.1, p.209.

(2) A.P.C. V, p. 303.

(3) John Proctor, The historie of wyates rebellion, (1554) A viii v.

(4) see Ch.11.

(5) see below Ch. 111.

(6) L & P, Vol.21, pt. 2, p.273. L & P, Vol.21, pt.2, P.273.
Foxe, vol. VI, p.539.

to leap into verse in defence of Hooper who had been attacked by "railing bills" cast round the streets. He duly broadcast his reply in the same way. (1) But the most popular butt of all was Gardiner. Several bills survive in which the weaknesses and strengths of Gardiner's personality were examined. No doubt many more have disappeared. His abrasive and controversial character and his shift in opinion made him a natural target not just of broadsides but also of pamphlets and tracts. As a controversialist himself, Gardiner must have expected to be attacked, but it has to be said that he was singularly roughly treated. To describe him as a wolf "whose eyes continually burn with the unquenchable flames of the deadly cockatrice, whose teeth are like to the venomous tooth of the ramping lion, whose mouth is full of cursed speaking and bitterness"...and "who sitteth lurking like a lion in his den, that he may privily murder the innocent and suck his blood" seems a little excessive. (2)

In fact Gardiner did resent the suggestion that he sought the blood of his opponents, and he frequently refuted it. But neither he nor any of the other victims of such printed venom resorted to law against their attackers. If slandered, however, they could and did take action on their own account. When John Wayland attempted to publish an edition of Baldwin's Mirror for Magistrates in 1554 the publication was stopped on the presses. (3) The Epistle to the edition which came out in 1559 described what had happened. The early edition was, it says, "hindered by the Lord Chancellor that then was" This was hardly surprising since the treatise spoke of a previous Bishop of Winchester (i.e. Cardinal Beauford)

"Who being made High Chancellor of the Realm
Not like a priest but like a prince did reign
Nothing wanting which might his pride maintain.
Bishop besides of Winchester he was
....whereby this Golden Ass
At home and abroad all matters brought to pass."

This tale, supposedly of the fate of the Duke of Gloucester, later described how the Cardinal came

"As Herod and Pilate to judge Jesu Christe." (4)

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- (1) Narratives of the Reformation, p.158.
 - (2) An humble supplicacion unto God for the restoring of hys holye woode, 'Strasburgh in Elsas at the signe of the golde Bibell' 1554)C vii. v and C viii r.
 - (3) E.I.Feasey, "The Licensing of the Mirror for Magistrates", in the Library, 4th. Series, Vol.111, (1922/3) p.177.
 - (4) W.Baldwin, Mirror for Magistrates, (1578)43r and 46v.

Wayland held the patent in service books and could not afford to alienate so powerful a man as Gardiner, but after Gardiner's death, Baldwin did obtain license from Mary's government to print an abbreviated form of the Mirror.

It appears that Paget was also jealous of his reputation, and prepared to take steps to protect it. After the publication of Bale's Elucidation of Anne Askew, Paget complained to Van der Delft, who suspected complicity by the Council in its publication, that he himself had been very ignominiously treated in the book and that an enquiry had been instigated into the book. It was discovered that it had ^{not} been printed in England, but steps had obviously been taken to censor it, for when Gardiner mentioned the number of copies circulating in his diocese he spoke of some "with leaves unglued where Master Paget was spoken of, and some with leaves glued." (1)

But if most statesmen were prepared to act privately to defend their reputations, rather than invoke the law which existed to protect them, they were not prepared to tolerate attacks which contained unfounded and anonymous accusations of treason. In the last years of Henry VIII's reign tenure of high office must have seemed dangerous and insecure enough without the added threat posed by such insidious attacks. In 1545 a rash of bills of this type caused alarm at Court, and an act was passed to deal with

"divers malicious and evil disposed persons, (who) of their perverse, cruel and malicious intents, minding the utter undoing of some persons to whom they have and do bear malice, hatred and evil will, have of late most devilishly practised and devised diverse writings... and...the same writings so devised, written and made, have cast abroad and left in places where they might be and have been found."

These writings accused various people of treason. The Act stipulates that anyone leaving such a bill and not disclosing the alleged treason to the King within twelve days, was to be accounted a felon, and suffer death and confiscation of property. These terms are extremely harsh and reflect perhaps the degree of insecurity among members of the Court at this time. (2)

It seems possible that these handbills were once again aimed at Gardiner, and they may have been prompted by differences about foreign policy. In November Wriothesley had written to Paget

(1) Span Cal, Vol.IX, p.111. Van der Delft to the Emperor, June 24. 1547. Muller, letters, p.293.

(2) 37 Hen.VIII, cap X SP. 111, p.997.

to explain how he had shown a bill to the King which had been "let fall" in front of him on his way to mass. Some people had been angry, at his action but he says he could do no less than disclose it and try to find the author. This was perhaps one of the bills mentioned in the Act. (1) In mid December, Sir Peter Carew was sent to Gardiner as some kind of punishment, possibly to apologise, in which case the row may have been between the pro-French faction at court and the Imperialists. In any event, instability and factionalism at court was at the root of this spate of hand bills.

The seriousness with which an accusation of treason was treated by politicians was demonstrated again in Edward's reign. Among the "false and de testable Proceedings" of the Duke of Somerset denounced in the Proclamation of 8 October was his "blustering and blowing by his own mouth...that certain Lords had conspired a great treason against the King's Majesty's person...whereby many of them, being abused by his false report,...conceived evil opinion of them that never deserved it ..." (2) As a result, the Council issued a number of Proclamations prohibiting such slanderous bills, but criticism of the junta did not cease with the downfall of Somerset. Northumberland became the butt of numerous bills and treatises, and the Council was kept busy dealing with such slanderers. (3) A proclamation of 1551 complained that

"divers lewd and seditious persons, minding to sow contention in divers parts of the realm, have of their malicious and cankered affections forged and made many slanderous and wicked bills, as well against the King's Majesty's most honourable council as against other noble personages within the realm and the same bills have spread and cast abroad in streets and in divers other places - fastened the same at such privy corners where they thought they might best publish their conceived malice: the authors whereof (because they have wrought their malice so covertly) cannot easily be found out to be punished according to the laws, statutes and proclamations made in that behalf. And yet nevertheless their devilish device taketh place and effect" (4)

This proclamation appears to have been almost completely without effect and for the rest of the reign the Council was obsessively occupied with stamping out criticism. This criticism arose partly from the considerable hostility which existed at this time between the commons

(1) L & P, Vol.XX, part 2, p.366.

(2) Troubles Connected, p.98.

(3) See Chapter 11.

(4) Proclamation May 20 1551. Hughes and Larkin, Vol.1, p.522, no.374.

and the gentry. (1)

The minority of the King removed the restraints against criticising a King's councillor, for such criticism could not be interpreted as a treasonable attack on the King's prerogative, or his judgement. As Northumberland's unpopularity increased so did the volume of abuse aimed at him, culminating after the death of the King in the famous case of Gilbert Potter. Potter, who had spoken out in favour of Mary's claim at the time of the proclamation of Queen Jane, was pilloried and lost both ears before being imprisoned in the Compter. A little pamphlet immediately appeared on the streets telling in tones of high protestant fervour how Gilbert had stood for the right and suffered for his conscience. It appears that this pamphlet was first circulated in manuscript before the failure of the coup was certain and was quickly put into print by Singleton. The author "Poor Pratte" writes,

"I have, (faithful Gilbard) scattered abroad three of these books more and two also have I sent into the ragged bear's camp; keep that close which thou hast; the world is dangerous; the great devil Dudley ruleth.. I have proved if I could get a M of them inprinted in some strange letter, and so a number of them to be dispersed abroad." (2)

Wriothsesley's account of this incident highlights the stress laid upon publicity in such cases. He describes how Potter was punished in the presence of the Sheriff, " a trumpeter blowing and a herald with his coat reading his offence at the cutting off his ears." (3)

Mary's accession was greeted by the Londoners with enormous enthusiasm, and the mood of disillusion and discontent was replaced in street literature by a note of celebration. (4) But the negotiations for the Spanish marriage soon reversed this trend and libellous productions again appeared in the city. In the beginning there was an attempt by the government to deal with attacks on Philip within the scope of the slander laws. There was clearly some reluctance to treat criticism of him as treason, because of the public odium such a step could arouse. In April 1554 a rash of libellous bills was met by a Proclamation which described how...

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- (1) See the account of the risings of 1549 in W.K.Jordan, Edward VI The Young King.
 - (2) Poore Pratte, The Copie of a pistel or letter sent to Gilbard Potter in the tyme when he was in prison, for speakinge on our most true quenes part the lady Mary. (Singleton, 1 Aug. 1553.), A vii v.
 - (3) Wriothsesley, Vol. 11, p. 86.
 - (4) See Chap. 11, p. 251, 252.

"many seditious and evil disposed persons, seeking by all ways and means they can devise to defame and speak evil of others, go about where they dare not (either for shame or for fear of punishment of the laws) speak openly, do in the night time and other ways secretly spread and set abroad their malicious intent by seditious bills and writings, seeking thereby devilishly to nourish dissension and to defame and, as much as in them lieth, bring in obloquy noblemen and other personages of good worth, credit and fame."(1)

This proclamation specifically applied the penalties of the slander laws to the medium of print, demanding that finders of such bills deface or burn them instantly so that they cannot be read again, and declaring that keepers as well as publishers or retailers of such bills were to be punished as if they were the originators.

Clearly the "other personages of good worth, credit and fame" who were being libelled were in fact Philip and his entourage, and this Proclamation attempted to protect him from such attacks by extending and restating the slander laws. Later in the same year an Act was passed which purported to be a further extension of the slander laws. Rehearsing the previous statutes that had attempted to deal with the problem, it went on to make a distinction between slander of the nobility and "false, seditious and slanderous News, Rumours, Sayings and Tales against our most dread Sovereign Lord and King and against our most natural Sovereign Lady and Queen." For those who slandered the nobility the traditional punishment of the pillory was refined by the loss of both ears (this was not a new punishment, as the case of Gilbert Potter showed.) Alternatively, an offender could pay a fine of £ 100 and suffer three months imprisonment. But anyone guilty of writing, devising, printing or setting forth, or procuring to be set forth "any manner of books, rhyme, ballad, letter or writing containing any false matter, clause or sentence of slander, reproach and dishonour of the King and Queen" or provoking rebellion was to lose his right hand, and at a second offence to be imprisoned for life, with loss of goods. In fact this clause was never implemented during Mary's reign, but the act was restated in 1555 in the act for continuance of certain statutes. (2)

By the end of 1555 slander of Philip had been dealt with by the treason laws discussed below. Nevertheless the '55 Statute for slanderers

(1) Proclamation, before April 10 , Hughes and Larkin Vol.11, P.41, no.410.

(2) 1 and 2 Philip and Mary, cap.3, S.R. 1V, p.240.
2 and 3 Philip and Mary, cap.21, S.R. 1V, p.297.

was reenacted by Elizabeth, and remained on the statute book to claim its first victim in Stubbes.

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The subject of plays and interludes does not fall strictly within the scope of this study as most of such works were still circulated in manuscript. Nevertheless, it is interesting to note the concern of the government to control the content and performance of such works. This concern sprang partly from anxiety about public order, which might be jeopardised by the crowds which assembled to watch plays. During the summer months anxiety about epidemics added to this fear of disorders to cause frequent bans on plays. This was particularly common in times of civil disorder, such as in August 1549, when a proclamation prohibited plays on pain of imprisonment. During the Edwardian period, the feeling that plays led to vice encourage a puritanical dislike of them, particularly of performances on Sunday that might keep congregations away from church. An earlier expression of this attitude is found in the Proclamation of October 1544 which spoke of the increase in the number of plays being performed;

"Forasmuch as by reason and occasion of the manifold and sundry interludes and common plays that now of late days have been by divers and sundry persons more commonly and busily set forth and played than heretofore hath been accustomed, in divers and many suspicious, dark and inconvenient places of this our most dread and most benign sovereign Lord the King's city and chamber of London, wherein no such plays ought to be played, and that namely and chiefly upon the Sunday and other holy days in the time of evensong and other divine service celebrated and said in the said city; to which places a great part of the youth of the same city.... frequenting, haunting and following the same plays, have not only been the rather moved and provoked thereby to all proneness, proclivity and readiness of divers and sundry kinds of vice and sin, and the said youth by that occasion not only provoked to the unjust wasting and consuming of their masters' goods, the neglecting and omission of their faithful service and due obedience to their said masters, but also to the no little loss and hindrance of God's honour and the divine service aforesaid....to the high displeasure of Almighty God, the great nourishment and increase of much vice, sin and idleness and to the great decay and hurt of the commonwealth of the said city, as of archery and other lawful and laudable exercises...." (1)

(1) Proclamation October 1544, Hughes and Larkin, Vol. 1, p.341, no. 240.

The purpose of this proclamation was to prevent the secret performances of lewd and scurrilous plays at the back of taverns and in other sleazy locations. It therefore insisted that all plays be publicly performed, either in the open street, in noblemen's or aldermen's houses, in the homes of solid citizens or in company halls when the Company was assembled. The Proclamation of 28. April, 1551, listed plays along with the numerous other moral and social evils mentioned above, as one of those disorders which sprang of the "corrupt nature and ill disposition of naughty men." It complained that players, along with vagabonds, rumour mongers, gamers, rioters and unlawful printers, undermined the commonwealth "by their vicious living and corrupt conversations." (1)

Such interludes and farces, performed by the most unstable elements in society, apprentices, strolling players, and the city poor, lent themselves naturally to the expression of sacriligious, seditious and radical views. Gardiner was appalled at the disrespect shown by the youth of Southwark who openly advertised their intention to stage a play to coincide with his requiem for Henry VIII to see which performance proved the more popular. The disrespectful, or those with a grievance against the establishment, found such interludes a relatively safe way of expressing themselves, for no evidence remained after a performance of incriminating words, no written or printed document existed on which a case could be made against them, and arguments about precisely what had been said gave considerable protection at law. The proclamation of 1549 complained that most of the plays being performed in London "contain matter tending to sedition and contemning of sundry good order and laws." Ridley's Articles of 1551 enquired whether anyone was mocking the Prayer Book in "interludes, plays, songs, rhymes or by open words", and the prohibition of such interludes was repeated in both of the Edwardian and the Elizabethan Acts of Uniformity.(2) Mary also complained in her Proclamation of August 18 '53 of interludes, books and ballads "concerning doctrine in matters now in question and controversy touching

(1) See above p. 34.

(2) Proclamation. 6 August. 1549. Hughes and Larkin, Vol.1, p.478, no. 344.
Ridley's Articles to be Enquired upon in the Visitation (R.Wolf 1550)
 printed in Foxe, App.No.1 to Vol.VI.
 Statutes 2 and 3 Ed.VI cap.1 S.R.Vol.1V, p.38.
 5 and 6 Ed.VI cap.1 S.R.Vol.1V, p.130.
 1 Eliz. cap.2. S.R.Vol.1V, p.356.

the high points and mysteries of Christian religion." (1) But despite her dislike of such plays, Mary's reign seems to have seen an increase in the number of seditious and dissident plays being performed. As her control over the press became more rigid, dissent seems to have found an outlet in such performances rather than in street literature and in April 1556 the Council took action against the strolling players who took part in such plays "exposing the King and Queen and Romish religion," particularly in the north. (2) The following year an order was passed in Star Chamber to prohibit plays, and was qualified a little later by one limiting the ban to the summer period from Shrovetide to All Saints.(3)

The most popular play in circulation in 1558 was "A Sack full of News." By this time there seems to have been an unspoken realisation on the part of the populace that Mary could not last much longer, and expressions of discontent became more open. This mood of thinly disguised disrespect gave way on Elizabeth's accession to an atmosphere of celebration and liberation, which emboldened the more unruly citizens to produce a stream of highly slanderous anti-Catholic and anti-Spanish plays. Opinions long held in check now burst out with twice the energy, and Il Schifanoia, a lugubrious Venetian resident in London bewailed the situation in a letter of February 6 1559 to Ottaviano Vivaldino.

" There are yet more frivolous and foolish people who daily invent plays in derision of the Catholic Faith, of the church, of the clergy and of the religion and by placards posted at the corners of the street they invite people to the taverns to see these representations, taking money from their audience." (4)

Evidently these plays went beyond tolerable limits, for in April the Queen was forced to apologise to Philip about a representation of himself which had caused particular offence. Further action was taken in May when a Proclamation stated that as the season for plays was now over until All Hallows, "and that also some that have been of late used are not convenient in any good ordered Christian commonweal to be suffered," from now on all plays were to be licensed before performance by the mayor, the lieutenant of the county, or two J.Ps. These officers were to permit nothing to be played on the subjects

(1) Hughes and Larkin, Vol. 11, p. 5, no. 390.

(2) Strype, E.M., 111, pt. 1. p. 488.

(3) A.P.C., VI, p. 119 and p. 169

(4) Ven. Cal., Vol. VII, p. 26.

of doctrine or policy, "being no meet matters to be written or treated upon but by men of authority, learning and wisdom, nor to be handled before any audience but of grave and descreet persons." (1) The difficulty was that attack, particularly on dignitaries, ceremonials and the establishment was then as now the natural meat of comic sketches. Unless such plays could be read before performance it was almost impossible to prevent unacceptable matter from being played. The only solution was to ban plays altogether. The late fifties and sixties therefore saw some attempt at licensing plays on the basis of synopses of plots given beforehand by the players. The Acts of 1542 and 46 had included plays among the types of work on which a printer was obliged to print his name, the author's, and the date of printing. As more plays appeared in print licensing became an easier matter, and the Proclamation of 1551 against various disorders laid down that players were to be licensed by the Privy Council before they performed anything. Mary's Freedom of Conscience Proclamation limited this still further to "her Grace's special license in writing." Under Elizabeth the job was passed over to the Court of High Commission, three members of which were to be appointed to license plays, pamphlets and ballads, and to prevent anything appearing that was "either heretical, seditious or unseemly for Christian ears." By now it was assumed that the Commissioners would be dealing with printed material, but in fact there were still many plays that were not printed, and surveillance was a hit and miss business, some players being investigated when their matter was innocent, while other less innocent material slipped through the net. The only way to deal with these unprinted plays was through the patron of the Company concerned, who was held responsible for the content of interludes performed by his players.(2)

3. Treason.

If any printer were foolhardy enough to print treasonable matter, there was a whole battery of legislation under which he could be prosecuted. The Statute of 3 Edward 1. cap.34, mentioned above (3) covered all tales which might occasion discord between the King and his people, a category wide enough to cover any seditious or treasonable

(1) Proclamation 16 May 1559. Hughes and Larkin Vol.11, p.115, no.458.

(2) L & P. Vol.XVII, 1542, p.79

Proclamation 8 July 1546. Hughes and Larkin, Vol.1, p.373, no.272.

Proclamation 28 April 1551. *ibid* 1, p.514, no.371.

Proclamation 18 August 1553. *ibid* 11, p.5, no.390.

Proclamation 16 May 1559. *ibid* Vol.11, p.115, no.458.

(3) p.30.

publication. But this act placed such seditious tales within the scope of the law of slander, rather than of treason. The Statute 25 Edward III, st. 5. cap.2. (1351), which sought to clarify the vague and involved notions of treason which were characteristic of common law, did not include words, either spoken or written, within the scope of treason. However, this statute was not exclusive, and uncertain cases were left to be decided by the King in Parliament. It appears that in case law words or writings which encouraged the people to withdraw their allegiance from the King could amount to high treason, presumably on the basis of a judgement in common law. The whole question of treasonable words remained in some doubt until the matrimonial affairs of Henry and the criticism they aroused forced a clarification of the issue. (1)

The Statute of Praemunire, 1393, did offer Henry some protection from critics, for it prohibited the acquisition of any Papal Bull or process "or any other thing whatsoever which touch the King, against him, his crown and his Regality, or his Realm." The penalty laid down in this statute was forfeiture of goods and perpetual imprisonment. (2) A proclamation of 1530 reiterated these provisions, once again in general terms which could be applied to almost any hostile judgement. (3) But Henry evidently did not feel that these provisions were adequate, and in 1531 a new treason law was drafted which included under the offence of treason the bringing into the realm of "any manner of writing or commandment brought from any outward parts, which shall extend or be in dishonour or slander of his crown or majesty or jurisdiction royal." Nothing came of this draft, but concern over the publication in England of Papal judgements led in 1533 to another proclamation depriving Catherine of the Royal Style, and rehearsing again the terms of the Statute of Praemunire. The terms of the statute were extended by this proclamation to include the reputing or naming Catherine, Queen. (4)

Treason by words had still not been made a statutory offence by the time Elizabeth Barton and her colleagues were sent to trial. It was alleged that they had, among other things, published writings

(1) See the case of the false Richard discussed by I. Thornley, "Treason by Words," in E H R (1917) vol. 32, p.556. For discussion of Henrician treason laws see G.R.Elton, Policy and Police (Cambridge, 1972) Ch. 6. 'The Law of Treason' p.263.

(2) 16 Ric II, cap.5. S R. Vol.11, p.85.

(3) Procl., 12 Sept. 1530. Hughes and Larkin, Vol. 1, p.197, no.130.

(4) Procl., 5 July 1533. Hughes and Larkin, Vol. 1, p.209, no 140.

"both great and small, both printed and written" which encouraged people to "murmer, grudge and be of evil opinion against the majesty of our said sovereign lord, to the great peril and danger of his most royal person." Nevertheless, they were proceeded against by attainder, it being adjudged that their offences did not amount to treason under statute law. (1)

It appears that the King, and Cromwell, were dissatisfied with this situation, and when the Act of Succession was being drafted, Cromwell pressed hard to have words taken as High Treason. (2) His colleagues were reluctant to admit words, but in the final compromise, Cromwell appears to have gained a considerable advance. The Act of Succession of 1533/4 declared that it was High Treason to procure by act, writing or printing, anything "to the peril of your most royal person" or to give occasion by the same means for the King to be "disturbed or interrupted of the Crown of this realm," or to procure by the same means anything "to the prejudice, slander, disturbance or derogation of the said lawful matrimony...or to the peril, slander, or disherison of any the issues and heirs." Words only were to amount to misprision of treason, and to be punishable by imprisonment at will, and loss of goods. (3)

The second Act of Succession, 1536, retained all the provisions of the first, but made words and refusal to take the oath of succession amount to High Treason. Meanwhile Cromwell had been diligently tracking down all seditious talkers and had evidently gained a more specific knowledge of the kind of remarks being made about the King.

The Treason Act of 1534 went into greater detail, condemning as treasonable any talk which expressed a wish for harm to come to the King or Queen, deprived them of their titles, or "slanderously and maliciously published and pronounced, by express writing or words, that the King our sovereign lord should be heretic, schismatic, Tyrant,

Infidel or usurper," (4) Denial of the Royal Supremacy was dealt with

in the Act Extinguishing the authority of the Bishop of Rome. This made writing, cyphring or printing on behalf of the Pope punishable under

praemunire. (5) *Some years later, the bill for the King's Style made denial of any*

(1) Attainder of Elizabeth Barton and Others.
25 Hen. VIII, cap. 12. S R. 111, p. 448.

(2) Elton, Policy and Police, p. 276.

(3) 25 Hen. VIII, cap. 22. S R vol. 111. p. 473.

(4) 26 Hen. VIII, cap. 13. S R 111, p. 508.

(5) 28 Hen. VIII, cap. 10. S R 111, p. 664.

part of the King's Title, or that of his family, High Treason, but in fact Papal views were already condemned by the oath which was attached to the Act of Succession, refusal to take which was considered High Treason. (1)

This battery of legislation had the effect of making any criticism of the King's dynastic or ecclesiastical arrangements treasonable and indeed criticism of any kind was dangerous. The campaign, particularly against catholic books, was pressed home with considerable vigour, special legislation being passed to call in the works of the most dangerous catholic apologist, Bishop Fisher. A Proclamation of 1536 ordered all his books to be surrendered within forty days, since they contained "many open and manifest errors and slanders... not only in derogation and diminution of the dignity and authority of the King's majesty and of his Imperial crown, but also directly and expressly against the good and laudable statutes of this realm..". The proclamation also banned any other writing or book "wherein shall be contained any error or slander to the King's majesty, or to the derogation or diminution of his Imperial crown or of any authority

knit to the same... " (2) This confiscation was evidently carried out with some thoroughness, for on 16 January the Bishop of London asked for more time to gather in the offensive books.

Cromwell also "directed his letters to particular persons to bring in their books", as for example he did to Sir Thomas Elyot, whom he suspected of being papist in sympathy. Elyot hurriedly excused himself. (3)

During the 40s. this prohibition of criticism of the King was sustained, the general pardons of 1540 and 1543 both excluding all treasons by "writing or printing", the former limiting this to writing against the King, but the latter including the Queen and their heirs. (4) The departure of Cromwell made the enforcement of this censorship less effective (5) but it in no way led to a liberalisation of the law; on the contrary, as we have noted, the bill for the King's Style introduced even more new treasons.

(1) 35 Hen.VIII. cap.3, S.R. III, p.958.

(2) Proclamation 1 Jan. 1536. Hughes and Larkin, Vol.1, p.235, no.161.

(3) Strype, E. M. Vol.1, p. 341.

(4) 32 Hen.VIII. cap.49 S R III, p.811.
35 Hen.VIII. cap.18 S R III, p.982.

(5) See Chap. 11.

It appears that these new treason laws of Henry's reign were considered unduly harsh at the time. Certainly after his death there was an immediate move to repeal them on the grounds that they were "very straight sore extreme and terrible." Edward's famous Act of Repeals therefore repealed all the new treasons of Henry's reign, and affirmed that words only were not to amount to treason. Accusations for treason by printing had to be lodged within a specified time of the alleged offence. Nevertheless it remained High Treason to affirm or set forth by "writing, printing, overt deed or act" that Edward was not Head of the Church of England, or that the Pope was, or to compass or imagine by writing or printing the deposition of the King or his heirs, or to suggest that someone else had the right to the throne. (1)

The feeling that words should not amount to High Treason and that those Henrician acts in which they did were excessive, is found in both Edwardian and Marian statutes for treason. The Edwardian Act for the punishment of divers treasons, 1551/2, repeated the prohibition of 1534 on calling the King Heretic, schismatic, tyrant, infidel or usurper of the crown, writing or printing such things amounting to High Treason at the first offence but words only at the third offence. (2) The following year Mary's first Statute commented that strict laws could often ensnare innocent people, "Yea, many times for words only without other fact or deed done or perpetrated", and that noble people have been executed for words only. The memory of More thus contributed to the repeal of all Acts concerning treason by words, writing, cyphring, deeds or otherwise except those condemned by 25 Edward III. st. 5 cap.2. (3)

The remarkable liberality which marked the beginning of Mary's reign even more than that of her brother, seems to have arisen partly from the expectation that there would be no serious criticism of Mary's actions. Her father and brother had required harsh treason laws to enforce new and unpopular dynastic and religious settlements. Since Mary intended to reverse those settlements, she felt that she could afford to be liberal. Indeed the enthusiasm with which she was welcomed to the throne must have encouraged her in the belief that the vast majority of the population would be equally enthusiastic about

(1) 1 Edward VI, cap. 12, S R IV, p. 18.

(2) 5 & 6 Edward VI, cap.11. S R IV, p. 145.

(3) 1 Mary, Stat.1, cap. 1. S R IV, p. 198.

the policies she intended to pursue. Even when the tide of discontent, criticism and hostile propaganda began to rise, she resisted for some time the use of new treason laws to deal with such criticism. (1)

But in this area, as in others, Mary was forced to accept that clemency was not having the desired effect, and new treason laws were eventually introduced. The situation which forced her to take such action was angrily described in the harsh slander law of 1554. (2)

This relates how

"divers and sundry malicious and evil disposed persons maliciously, seditiously, rebelliously and unnaturally...have now of late not only imagined, invented, practised, spoken and spread abroad, divers and sundry false, seditious and slanderous news, rumours, sayings and tales against our most dread Sovereign Lord and King, and against our most natural Sovereign Lady and Queen...to the great dishonour reproach and slander of their most excellent majesties, as also to the great slander of this their Realm, but have also devised, made, written, printed, published and set forth divers heinous, seditious and slanderous writings, rhymes, ballads, letters, papers and books." (3)

According to Renard, this act was prompted by a letter found by the Earl of Derby when walking, "for it was thrown down so adroitly in front of him that he could not help picking it up. The gist of it was that if he attended Parliament he would lose his head and to advise him to beware of making any concessions to the Spaniards, whose object was to seize the Kingdom by force, and remember that the Queen had usurped a crown to which she had no right. This so greatly irritated Parliament that measures are being taken for the punishment of slanderers...." (4)

By 1555 tracts containing similar sentiments to these were circulating in London in some quantity, either in manuscript or printed abroad. New treason laws were clearly necessary and the same Parliament that enacted the statute against slanderers also passed two new treason laws. The first dealt specifically with a prayer which was apparently being used by some Protestant dissidents, that "God would turn her heart from idolatry to the true Faith, or else to shorten her days or take her quickly out of the way." This Act made the use of such a prayer High Treason. (5) *The second Act tackled Philip's reputation,*

(1) See use of scandal laws above p. 43.

(2) See above p. 43.

(3) 1 & 2, Philip and Mary, cap.3, S R Vol. 1V, p.240.

(4) Span Cal,XIII, p. 102.

(5) 1 & 2. Philip and Mary, cap.9, S.R Vol. 1V, p.254.

making denial of his title treason at the second offence when words only were involved, and denial of the title of either of them in writing and printing High Treason at the first offence. It was hoped hereby to restrain the malice of cankered and treacherous hearts "whereby they may be prohibited to blow abroad such shameful slanders and lies as they daily invent and imagine of her Highness and the King's Majesty her most lawful husband." (1)

In the meantime the link between sedition and heresy was becoming so involved that legislation supposedly aimed at the repression of heretical books frequently embraced treasonable or seditious writings too. This tendency on the part of the government to confuse religious and political dissent was perhaps unfortunate in that it drew together two sources of opposition which might otherwise have remained distinct. On the other hand, given the continued assumption that the state secular and the state spiritual were coterminous, it was logical to assume that dissent from the one necessitated dissent from the other. The experience of the past, both of Lollardy in England and of Lutheranism in Germany, was that heresy inevitably led to rebellion. This theme constantly recurred in legislation concerning the press. The Statute 2 Henry V. stat 1. cap 7 (1414) declared that heretics and Lollards aim "to adnull and subvert the Christian Faith and the law of God and Holy Church within this same Realm of England, and also to destroy the same our Sovereign Lord the King and all other manner of Estates of the same Realm." (2)

Henry VIII agreed. Lollards and heretics, he declared " by perversion of Holy Scripture do induce erroneous opinions, soweth sedition among Christian people, and finally do disturb the peace and tranquillity of Christian realms, as late happened in some parts of Germany, whereby procurement and sedition of Martin Luther and other heretics were slain an infinite number of Christian people." (3)

The following year, 1530, another proclamation against erroneous books returned to the theme, claiming that not only did heretical books pervert people's faith but that they also "stir and incense them to sedition and disobedience against their princes, sovereigns and heads as also to cause them to contemn and neglect all good laws, customs and virtuous manners to the final subversion and desolation of this noble realm."

(1) 1 & 2 Philip and Mary, cap.10, S R, Vol.1V, p.255.

(2) 2 Hen. V, stat. 1, cap.7. S R Vol.11, p.181.

(3) Proclamation 6 March 1529. Hughes and Larkin. Vol. 1, p.181, no.122.

For Henry's government, and again for Mary's, heresy was an aspect of libertinism, of the desire of evil men to have license to indulge their appetites freely, and to throw over all controls whether ecclesiastical or secular. The fears aroused by the exploits of the early Anabaptists were not easily quelled, and the link between Henry's rather disreputable matrimonial problems and the spread of Protestantism was not lost upon later commentators. Writing in 1554, John Proctor asked

" Came not this your religion by a fleshly and carnal mean into this realm ? Were not the fruits that came in there with manifest contempt of magistrates, licentious and dissolute living, oppression, or rather open robbery of the poor, dissolution and break of godly order, laws and ceremonies, whereby the people were kept in due fear and love towards God and man ? " (1)

The Royal Supremacy altered but did not dissolve the link between heresy and sedition. The reforms which followed the break with Rome, and the puritanical fervour of some of the reforming clergy gave the lie to the belief that protestants were motivated by a desire for moral laxity. But if the King held both swords it became impossible to defy the one while remaining obedient to the other. The proclamation of 1542 against heretical books complained that they tended to disturb " the godly religion united and established under the King's Majesty in this his realm." (2) Such books were clearly seditious as well as heretical, for they defied the authority of the King. They were also seditious from the point of view that by raising doubts and dissensions they opened the door to civil strife. As the Statute of 32 Henry VIII " concerning Christs' religion " stated " nothing so much troubleth the commonwealth and hindreth quiet and concord, as diversity in opinions and beliefs, specially in things that concern Almighty God and his religion." (3)

The violent effects that such disagreement could have were described by Burcher to Bullinger in October 1548, when he said that the publication of Cranmer's version of Jonas' Catechism " occasioned no little discord, so that fightings have frequently taken place among the common people on account of their diversity of opinions, even during the sermons." (4) The experience of all the Tudors showed that while the

(1) John Proctor, Historie of Wyates rebellion, (Caly, 1554) M ii r.

(2) See Conrad Russell " Arguments for Religious Unity in England 1530-1650" in Journal of Ecclesiastical History, Vol. XLIII, No. 2, p. 201.

(3) 32 Hen VIII. cap. 26 S.R. Vol. III, p. 783.

(4) D.L. Vol. II, p. 642. Oct. 29th 48.

majority was too apathetic to indulge in an outright civil war on a matter of religion, where other grievances existed religious dissent could help to stir revolt. The Pilgrimage of Grace, the Western Risings and Wyatt's rebellion all contained a large element of religious dissent, and demonstrated that secular allegiance was affected by religious nonconformity. This threat of civil war was aggravated when questions of dual allegiance arose, as in the case of the papists under Henry, or, under Mary, those protestants who were evolving an international view of the Church. Marian protestants were certainly very anxious to prove themselves law abiding citizens, as the model answer returned to Wyatt by the Marshalsea prisoners on his offer of freedom proved; "as we came in for our consciences and sent thither by the Souncil we think it good here still to remain till it please God to work our deliverance as it shall seem best to his glory and our lawful discharge, whether that by life or death, we are content."

(1) But despite the exaggerated loyalty of Poor Pratte and of these Marshalsea prisoners, they were in fact engaged in an act of disobedience and by rejecting the authority of the monarch in religious matters were raising the question of a higher authority with power to depose the monarch. This authority was no longer the pope but the congregation, and it was not long before the English protestants had taken the few short steps from the denial of Royal Supremacy to theories of tyrannicide.

But if the holding of heretical opinions was subversive, how much more was the government bound to take notice of ^{the} publication of such views. To dissent in public was bad enough but to print dissent was a clear incitement to others to dissent and an act of defiance, a challenge to the government. The reformers were themselves aware of the subversive nature of such activities and were anxious not to provoke the government unduly. While they were in prison, Ridley and his companions wrote much that was intended for the press at some future date but they were anxious that nothing should appear in print before the time was ripe. As Ridley explained to Hooper, " I see methinks so many perils, whereby I am earnestly moved to counsel you not to hasten the publishing of your works, especially under the title of your own name. For I fear greatly lest by this occasion both your mouth should be stopped hereafter, and all things taken away from the rest of the prisoners; whereby otherwise, if it so please God, they may be able to do good to many. " (2)

(1) Narratives of the Reformation, p.185.

(2) Foxe, Vol. VI, p.643.

Ridley's main fear was that such publication might provoke persecutions, but he was well aware that printing against authority was an expression of defiance. When he had been in authority and Hooper in dissent, one of the main causes of Hooper's imprisonment had been that he had put his dissenting views into print. (1)

Ridley's concern about the effect of publishing dissent was well founded, for Whitehead informed Calvin that when Knox's Doctrine of the Mass was published it "added much oil to the flame of persecution in England, for before the publication of that book, not one of our brethren had suffered death, but as soon as it came forth, we doubt not but that you are well aware of the number of excellent men who have perished." (2) Fear of such reprisals led James Haddon to write to Bullinger of John Bank's plan to publish the Lady Jane documents, "I know for certain that it will occasion the greatest danger to me, if it is published...to say nothing of the certain risk and peril which would hang over others....I pray you again and again not to allow it." (3) The determinedly pacific note of many of the protestant pamphlets of Mary's reign, especially of the early years, (4) was prompted partly by such fears and partly by a genuine concern not to print anything which might maliciously provoke rebellion. But however anxious many of the gospellers were to stress this line, they could not avoid the accusation made later by Sir Nicholas Bacon against the importers of popish books:

"if the bringing in of these seditious books make men's minds to be at variance one with another, distraction of minds maketh seditions, seditions bring in tumults tumults work insurrections and rebellion, insurrections make depopulations and desolations and bring in utter ruin and destruction of men's bodies, goods and lands; and if any sow the root whereof these may come and yet it can be said that he hath no malice, or that he doth not maliciously labour to destroy both public and private wealth, I cannot tell what act may be thought to be done maliciously" (5)

The challenge to authority which printed heresy represented was exacerbated when the author was a man of eminence and reputation. As we have seen, (6) the printed word had already acquired a distinct authority, and publication had become a serious matter. When a man

(1) Foxe, Vol. VI, p.778.

(2) Original Letters, Vol.1, p.760. Sept.20 1555.

(3) D. L., Vol. 1, p.292. J.Haddon to Bullinger, August 31 1554.

(4) e.g. 'A Letter sent from a banished Minister of Jesus Christ.'
(M.Wodde, 1554)

(5) Foxe VIII, p.741.(Dec. 1567)

(6) Above p.29.

like Cranmer put his views on the sacrament into print they carried the full weight of his scholarship and authority. In such a case the publication represented not just a contribution to developing theological scholarship but a public commitment to a religious standpoint, a commitment by which a man's integrity could be measured. Henry VIII's government was quick to appreciate this testamentary aspect to printed views, and pressed to get eminent men like Tunstall to commit themselves in print to the government's position. Gardiner, Bonner and Cranmer, who had "published abroad to the eyes and judgement of all men in print" (1) views which they later rejected or modified found themselves ridiculed publicly, and their inconsistencies put down to time-serving cowardice. As the protestant publisher of Gardiner's De Vera Obedientia asked in 1553, "...if these ruffling rabbis in their sermons and advised orations said and wrote the truth then, why do they not abide by it, and say the same still?..." The editor offers his own explanation. "These children will sleep in a whole skin, though the soul and body go all to the devil for it." (2)

After the flattery and time-serving of Henry's and Edward's reigns, personal integrity was something to be prized and defended. But for Cranmer, as Archbishop, there was an additional responsibility, to set out in print the pure doctrine in which the English church was to be established. During his final imprisonment he was evidently haunted by this obligation, writing to Peter Martyr in 1555, "nothing is at this time more distressing to me than that no answer has yet been given to M. A., to whose subtleties and juggling tricks and ravings a reply would not have been wanting long since had not books and liberty been wanting to myself." (3) Ridley and Peter Martyr clearly shared the Archbishop's view that Gardiner must be publicly refuted, and both addressed themselves to the task. The point at issue here was not just personal integrity or scholarly superiority. Cranmer felt that he was the public champion of God's truth. Writing in his *Purgatio*, he declares that "although I have been well exercised these twenty years to suffer and bear evil reports and lies and have not been much grieved there at, but have borne all things quietly; yet when untrue reports and lies turn to the hindrance of God's truth, they are in no wise to be suffered. Wherefore these be to signify unto the world that it was not I." (4)

(1) Foxe, VIII, p.35.

(2) De vera obedientia, 'Rome, before ye castle of S. Angel at the signe of S. Peter' (i.e. Wesel Singleton and Lambrecht, 1554.)

(3) O. L. 1, p.30.

(4) Foxe, Vol. VI, p.538.

This purgation was apparently not printed, though so many copies of it were made that it kept nearly all the scribes in London occupied and came "into as many hands as if it had been printed." (1)

Such a dispersal had not been Cranmer's intention, but his plan of pinning officially sealed copies to the cathedral doors was just as bold and displayed the same concern for public pronouncement.

It is clear that the government was also aware of this relationship between personal integrity and the defence of God's truth. If the former could be impugned, a protestant's doctrine could also be brought into disrepute. Recantations were the most valuable tool for the undermining of both the reputation and the doctrine of the recanter. When Northumberland recanted and made a penitent speech on the scaffold, an observer commented that "there were a great number turned with his words." The government eagerly produced a printed version of this persuasive speech, which apparently had the desired effect, for a latin version was published by Zimmerman in (2) Vienna. Anne Askew's confession was also rushed into print "to the intent the world may see what credence is now to be given unto the same woman, who in so short a time hath most damnably altered and changed her opinion and belief." (3) Anne immediately published a denial that she had signed the confession. (4) But the propaganda value of public, printed testimonies is seen most clearly in the battle between Cranmer and the government. Cranmer fired the first salvo in the famous Purgatio in which he refuted rumours that he had said mass and challenged the government to theological debate. Tesentianus wrote enthusiastically to John ab Ulmis that "these placards of the archbishop so strengthened the spirit of the gospellers that they no longer hesitated to lay down their lives for the truth." (5) When in turn the government held the trump card in the form of Cranmer's Recantation, they were placed in some difficulty over the question of publishing, the propaganda value of such publication being somewhat diminished by the fact that it would prove that they were going ahead with his execution despite the fact that he was a penitent. (6)

(1) Span Cal, Vol. 11, p.240. The Ambassadors in England to the Emperor. Sept.19 1553. Foxe, vol. VIII, p.38.

(2) Chronicle of Queen Jane and Queen Mary, p.20.

(3) Foxe, V, App. XIX.

(4) The Purgation or Answer of Anne Askew against the false surmises of her Recantation, Foxe, V, p.548.

(5) O. L., Vol. 1, p.371.

(6) D. M. Loades, The Oxford Martyrs, (1970.) Chapter 7. p.192f
J. Ridley, Thomas Cranmer, (1962. Oxford.) Chapter XXIV. p.382.

When it was finally produced, the recantation was greeted with some incredulity, but was nevertheless felt by Cranmer to be damaging enough to need to be answered. In his heroic final gesture of defiance, the Archbishop showed once again his burning concern that the truth should be publicly declared.

In this propaganda war for public sympathy the question of integrity was central, and the fact that the reformers proved to have more of it than had been expected, or than their opponents appeared to possess, who turned "like weathercocks, ersy versy as the wind bloweth" (1) made their pronouncements even more persuasive and dangerous to the government. In laying claim to the spiritual leadership of the nation they were undermining the authority of the government. Such a challenge might have been spiritual but it was also subversive. It is not surprising, therefore, to find that as Mary's reign progressed the line drawn between heresy and sedition became increasingly indistinct. For example, the commission of 1556 to search out heresies licensed its commissioners to investigate "all and singular heresies, heretical opinions, Lollardies, heretical and seditious books, conspiracies and confederacies, and also to enquire of all false rumours, tales, seditious slanders, words or sayings raised, published and bruted, invented and set forth against us or either of us or against the governance or rule of our people." (2) The Proclamation of 6 June 1558 which placed possessors of heretical and seditious books under Martial Law was aimed at books "filled both with heresy, sedition and treason ... whereby not only God is dishonoured but also an encouragement given to disobey lawful princes and governors." Anyone harbouring such a book was to be taken as a rebel and executed under Martial Law. (3)

The peculiar situation which obtained under Mary, in which the Royal Supremacy had been abrogated, but the Queen retained much of the control over ecclesiastical affairs (4) and clearly felt that religious disobedience was an affront to herself rather than to the Holy See, was simplified by the succession of Elizabeth. Sedition and heresy remained closely linked in the minds of the Queen and her ministers, but the return of the Royal Supremacy clarified the issue of authority.

Elizabeth's Treason laws were similar to those of her brother, but she betrayed less squeamishness about the designation of words as Treason.

(1) Gardiner, De Vera Obedientia, (M. Wood, Roane) 26 Oct. '53, Aiiii r.

(2) PRO. C66/897. m 21d.

(3) Proclamation 6 June 1558. Hughes and Larkin, Vol. 11, p. 90, no. 443.

(4) See below p 84.

Her first statute, "restoring to the crown the ancient jurisdiction " made support for the pope High Treason at the third offence, but weighed hostile words as heavily as writing, preaching or teaching. (1) A second Treason Act from the same year made opposition to the Queen's Title by " writing, printing, overt deed or act " (2) High Treason at the first offence. At the same time the savage act of Philip and Mary against slanderers was reenacted and remained a threat to writers and printers throughout Elizabeth's reign. (3)

4. Prophecy and Diplomatic Questions

The printing of open treason or scandal was clearly against the law and a printer who dealt in such matter had to expect official intervention. But apart from treasonable matter, there was also the matter of Kingly honour, and printers occasionally ran into trouble for not sufficiently regarding the sensitivity of their own monarch or the indignation of other princes. The slander acts discussed above, especially those dating from the period of Philip and Mary, were evidently expressions of wounded honour. (4) As Sir Ralph Sadler declaimed to the King of Scotland in 1536 " there is nothing, after the glory of Almighty God, in this world so much to be tendered by Kings, princes or any honest persons, or so highly to be regarded and defended as their honour, estimation, good fame and name " ... and " as the def^mation of King's toucheth Kings " he expected the King of Scots to call in all the libels which had appeared about Henry in Scotland, to punish the offenders, and to publish a proclamation prohibiting all such activities. (5) This diplomatic understanding that rude remarks about friendly dynasties were not allowed, placed a similar duty upon the English court, and in 1546 the Emperor complained that a lewd book about him was " here abroad and welcomed, although it contained only lies forged by desperate men to get help against their lord." On this occasion the Council denied all knowledge of the affair. (6)

(1) 1 Eliz. cap.1 SR. 1V, p.350

(2) 1 Eliz. cap.5 SR 1V, p.365.

(3) 1 Eliz. cap.6. SR 1V, p.366.

(4) e.g. 1 & 2 Philip and Mary, cap.3. SR. 1V, p.240.

(5) Foxe, V, p.103.

(6) L & P, Vol. XX1, pt. 2, p 9.

The Council was the normal agent for dealing with such diplomatic matters, and English printers were not much bothered by the indignation occasionally expressed by foreign monarchs. But, under Mary, exiled protestant polemists soon discovered that the anxiety of European states and cities not to offend the Emperor, or any other powerful prince for that matter, could create serious difficulties for book men. For example, when the magistrates at Zürich discovered that Knox had been responsible for slanders, not only against Mary and Philip, but also of the Emperor, they ushered him quickly out of town. (1)

Kingly honour was at its most sensitive, and understandably so, where matters of military prowess were concerned. Aspersions cast on a King's ability to wage war were not only dishonourable, they were also dangerous, inviting despondency at home and aggression abroad. When reports of "the prosperous success of the King's majesty's armies in Scotland" appeared in print in 1544, they were promptly called in and destroyed, on the grounds that "although the effect of the victory be indeed true, yet the circumstances in divers points be in some part overslenderly, in some part untruly and amiss reported." (2) The proclamation calling in such accounts claimed that the King's captains had been slandered by this inaccuracy, but it is possible that the offending books had been too specific about numbers and deployments, and were therefore considered a danger to security. Possibly also the accounts contained some matter that might invite the aggression of the French.

Security questions were evidently behind the proclamation of 1549 providing penalties for rumours of military defeat. Apparently, false tales had been circulating, not only of the King and his Council, but also, more significantly, "of his highness's fortresses, captains, and soldiers in the north parts and beyond the seas, and of his majesty's other affairs, feigning falsely great overthrows, losses and dangers, to the slander of the King's highness, impairing of his majesty's service and discouraging of the King's subjects, besides that thereby they have given to strangers occasion to write into distant countries such tales for news, to the great dishonour of his highness, the same being most false." The penalty provided by this proclamation was the galleys. (3)

(1) See below, p. 305.

(2) Proclamation 18 May 1544. Hughes and Larkin, Vol. 1, p.329, no. 329.

(3) Proclamation 29 April 1549. Hughes and Larkin, Vol. 1, p.455, no. 329.

A similar anxiety that the country should not appear weak abroad was noticed by Jehan Scheyfue, who reported home in 1551 that "quite 50,000 persons are said to have died of the sweating sickness in England, most of them men twenty to forty or fifty years. The English are concealing these facts as much as possible in order not to let it be known that the kingdom has been weakened and that God has wished to punish it." (1)

Despair at home could be just as dangerous in a military situation as rumours of weakness abroad. The gently worded Proclamation of 1558 was aimed at allaying fears of military defeat at home, and warned the public to give no credence to pessimistic tales, put around by "lewd, malicious and seditious persons." The assumption of the proclamation, as of the previous ones was that the spreaders of such rumours were positively malevolent.

A similar assumption was made about those who raised the unmentionable subject of the death of monarchs. Rumours of the deaths of Kings could be dangerous; they spread uncertainty and fear, raised questions concerning the succession, and so created dangerous rivalries and divisions. Beyond this there was a feeling that even to consider the possibility of the King dying was, by extension, to wish him dead. Walter Lord Hungerford was executed for prophesying the death of King Henry VIII, and two of the authors of a false proclamation of 1556 that Queen Mary was dead, were hanged on the spot where they had published the news. (2)

Closely connected with rumours of the death of Kings was the question of prophecies. Belief in prophecies was common at this time, the King himself (i.e. Henry VIII) apparently being deterred from hunting at Woodstock by "an old blind prophecy" (3)

Even Cromwell was in receipt of two books from Thomas Derby which "open secret mysteries far past the wit or natural gift of man." (4) When William Baldwin lamented how false prophecies,

"breed both murder, war and strife
Believed to the loss of many a goodman's life."

he was not condemning prophecies in general, but wishing that people would discriminate between true and false prophets. (5)

(1) Span Cal, Vol. X, p.347.

(2) Scarrisbrick p.638. Ven Cal, Vol.VI, Part 2, p.571.

(3) Foxe,V, p.136.

(4) L. & P, Vol.XV, p.515.

(5) Baldwin, Mirror for Magistrates 1559. (T. Marsh.) fol. i r.

But whether true or false, all Tudor governments were clear that prophecies caused trouble.⁽⁵⁾ Wales in particular was subject to prophetic sedition, and the rebellion of 1402 was put down to wandering Welsh

minstrels, spreading divinations and lies. (1) Foxe says that the Welsh had a prophecy about David Dawall Gatheren and Friar Forrest who were hanged in 1538. Two verses written by Gray on the subject and set on the gallows were also included in Gray's ballad, the Fantasy of Idolatrie. (2)

This tendency of the Welsh to put treasonable ideas into prophetic form was used by Bishop Ferrar's enemies to imply seditious activities by the Bishop. He was accused of preaching in such a way as to stir up strife, and of reviving the singing of old Welsh rhymes, and belief in their vain prophecies.

But in England also most rebellions produced their appropriate prophecies. These fell roughly into three groups, all of which worried the government. The first was the traditional myth in which the circumstances and symbols could be adapted to fit most political situations. These commonly reappeared at times of popular unrest, doctored to suit the needs of the moment. The Merlin myths were perhaps the most popular of all, and appeared, for example, on the Somerset bills of October, 1549, one of which hinted darkly, "And as for London, called Troy Untrue, Merlin sayeth that 23 Aldermen of hers shall lose their heads on one day, which God grant to be shortly." (4) This mixture of mystic utterance and explicit threat was also characteristic of the prophecies circulating in Norfolk in the same year. (1549) These declared that "there should no King reign in England; that the noblemen and gentlemen should be destroyed and the realm should be ruled by four governors to be elected and appointed by the commons holding a parliament, in a commotion to begin at the south and north seas of England." (3) Such visions of the overthrow of both monarchy and aristocracy were naturally frowned on by the ruling classes.

Equally dangerous to the King, though more to the taste of the aristocracy, were prophecies involving coats of arms and the symbolism of heraldry, by which noble families could look back on past glories, and which could be used to nourish hopes of future power. The overweening claims and loose talk of the Earl of Surrey provoked the King into action against the whole of the Norfolk family in the last year of

(1) R. Taylor, The Political Prophecy in England, (1911.)

(2) Foxe, V, p.404.

(3) Foxe, V, p.739.

(4) See Appendix I

(5) G. R. Elton, Policy and Politics (63) (1972) pp. 58-62.

K. Thomas, Religion and the Decline of Magic, (1971) Chapter 13, 'Ancient Prophecies' pp 389-435.

his reign. This kind of prophecy was in fact illegal, a statute of 1541 declaring that " if any person or persons print or write or else speak, sing or declare " any prophecy concerning names, badges, arms, genealogies, etc., he was to be deemed a felon. (1)

The third type of prophecy was also taken very seriously by the government particularly when it was linked with conjuring or necromancy. This was the prophecy of the King's death. When Elizabeth Barton prophesied that if Henry married Anne Boleyn he would die within six months and that within six months the country would be struck by plague, it sounded as much like a threat as a prophecy to an age which believed in necromancy and conjuring. In fact the General Pardon of 1534 specifically excepted all necromancers, and the possession of books of conjuring was (2) treated extremely seriously throughout our period (3) In 1552 the Norfolk family was again involved, though indirectly, when an old servant of Norfolk's was called before the Council to answer questions about " certain characters and books of necromancy and conjuration found in his lodging." He denied any knowledge of them and was lodged in the Tower. (4)

The instability of Edward's reign produced an unusually large crop of prophecies, such as those circulating in 1549 which are mentioned above. To deal with the situation the Government found it necessary to pass another act " Against fond and fantastical Prophecies." In this it declared that as " divers evil disposed persons, minding to stir and move sedition, disobedience and rebellion, have of their perverse minds feigned, imagined, invented, published and practised, divers fantastical and fond Prophecies concerning the King's Majesty, divers honourable persons, gentlemen and commons of this Realm, to the great disturbance and peril of the King's Majesty and this his realm," all who after the 1st February " do set forth in writing, printing, singing, speaking, and publish or otherwise declare to any person or persons any fantastical or false prophecy to the intent thereby to make any rebellion, insurrection, dissention, loss of life or other disturbance " should suffer one year's imprisonment and a £ 10 fine at the first offence, and imprisonment for life with forfeiture of goods at a second. (5)

(1) 33 Hen.8, cap.14, S.R. vol.111, p.850.

(2) Ridley, J. Thomas Cranmer, (Oxford 1966) p 68. *G. R. Elton, op. cit. pp. 54-5, 71-2.*
26 Hen. VIII, cap.18, S.R. Vol 111. p.515.

(3) See Ch. 11.

(4) A.P.C. Vol. 1V, p.13.

(5) 3 & 4 Ed.VI, cap. 15. S.R.1V, p.14

This act was reiterated in the "Act for the continuance of certain statutes" of 1553, (1) and Elizabeth also found it necessary to re-state it. Her Act concerning Prophecies re-enacted Edward's statute in an attempt to stop people who were still "feigning, imagining, inventing, and publishing of such fond and fantastical prophecies as well concerning the Queen's Majesty as divers honourable Personages, Gentlemen and others." (2)

This legislation against prophecies and prophetic books was in fact applied with particular vigour, ownership of such works being at least as dangerous as the handling of treasonable books. The printers had to be very careful. Even apparently innocent almanacks and prognostications could incur official displeasure,(3) while the possession of books of conjuring was taken as evidence of a willingness to use the black arts for the achievement of evil, and possibly treasonable, ends.

.....

5. Heresy.

The wise bookseller would thus avoid handling any work of prophecy, of sedition, or of scandal. But it was in the field of religious polemic that he had to tread with greatest care. Moreover, whereas only a very small proportion of the books in circulation could be said to fall into any of the previous categories, the book trade had from the beginning concentrated on the production and sale of religious books. To begin with, these were mainly inoffensive liturgical and devotional works, but as the century wore on more and more printers ventured into the minefield of theological controversy. Here, they ran the risk of falling foul of the heresy laws.

In England, the laws governing the prosecution of heretics were framed largely to deal with the problem of Lollards. There were two aspects to them which were of particular concern to the printers. The first was the close association of the lay magistrate in assisting the church authorities, and the second was their concentration on the stamping out of heretical literature. The statute of 1382 for dealing with the followers of Wycliff set the pattern for the relationship between the church and state in prosecuting heretics down to 1530/32. It authorised the King's commissioners to arrest and imprison all heretical preachers and their aiders and abettors, and hold them until

(1) 7 Ed. VI, cap. 11, S.R. Vol. IV, p.175.

(2) 5 Eliz. cap. 15, S R IV, p.445.

(3) See Chap. 11.

the church could try them. (1)

The Act of 1401 concentrated on heretical literature. The new sect of heretics, it declared, "make and write Books" in which "they do wickedly instruct and inform People and as much as they may excite and stir them to sedition and insurrection, and maketh great strife and division among the people, and other enormities horrible to be heard." The statute goes on to explain that these heretics move from diocese to diocese, so that "the Diocesans of the said Realm cannot by their jurisdiction spiritual, without the aid of the said Royal Majesty, sufficiently correct the said false and perverse people, nor refrain their malice." *The Statute laid down that*

no one was to "preach, hold, teach or instruct, openly or privily, or make or write any book contrary to the Catholic Faith or determination of the Holy Church.....and that all and singular having such Books or any writings of such wicked doctrine and opinions" were to hand them in within forty days of the proclamation of the statute. Anyone disobeying this act was to be arrested and tried by the laws of the Church, and if stubborn, to be handed over to the lay magistrate and publicly burned. (2)

Despite a petition from the Commons for the repeal of this statute, it was reiterated^{in 1410}, and four years later all lay magistrates were obliged to take an oath to help in the struggle against heresy. They were given "full power to enquire of all of them which hold any errors,... which be their maintainers common writers of such books, as well of the sermons as of their schools. " (3)

Possession of Lollard books remained a very dangerous business for the next hundred years, Lollard versions of the Scriptures being particularly frowned on, but any English manuscript being treated with suspicion.

The advent of printing had at first little impact on the circulation of heretical books, most Lollard works remaining in manuscript, and travelling along the old routes. But with the spread of the Lutheran Reformation, and the dissemination of Lutheran translations of the Scriptures, the ecclesiastical authorities were faced with new problems. With the exploitation of the printing press by the Lutherans, heretical books began to circulate in numbers never before contemplated.

(1) 5 Ric. 11, stat.2, cap. 5. S R Vol.11, p25.

(2) 2 Hen IV. cap.15, S R Vol.11, p.127. These provisions were repeated in the Provincial Constitutions of 1407.

(3) 2 Hen V, stat. 1. cap. 7. S R 11, p.182.

But the condemnation by the Pope in 1520 of all Lutheran books was followed by a vigorous campaign by the church authorities in England to stamp out heretical literature of both old and new schools. In May 1521 Wolsey issued a strict legatine commission to the bishops to hold a visitation for the purpose of confiscating " any books, written or printed, of Martin Luther's errors and heresies." Fifteen days were allowed for the surrender of such books, anyone withholding them to incur the greater excommunication and to be esteemed " concealers and favourers of heretical pravity, and so reputed and judged as heretics, and liable to be punished as such." A list of Luther's errors was also to be pinned on each church door. (1) Wolsey followed this ban with a spectacular book burning at St.Pauls, he himself presiding in state while Bishop Fisher preached a sermon. A similar book burning had previously been held at Cambridge.

But despite these measures heretical books continued to circulate in England, and it seems that London printers and stationers were becoming involved. In 1524 Tunstall summoned the printers to appear before him and warned them of the consequences of handling heretical books. He also forbade them to import any new book without obtaining permission from the church authorities and set up a board of censors consisting of himself, Wareham, Wolsey and Fisher. Nothing was to be published until it had been passed by this board. But in 1526 any success that may have been achieved was shaken by the arrival in England of the first Tyndale Testaments. The overtly Lutheran tone of the translation, and of its gloss, combined with the traditional hostility of the bishops towards any vernacular version of the Scriptures to produce an immediate reaction. Tunstall issued a proclamation condemning the translation, complaining that " many children of iniquity, maintainers of Luther's sect, blinded through extreme wickedness and wandering from the way of truth and the Catholic faith, craftily have translated the New Testament into our English tongue, intermeddling therewith many heretical articles and erroneous opinions ... of which translation there are many books imprinted, some with glosses and some without ... dispersed throughout all our diocese of London in great number." Within thirty days the Archdeacons were to hand in all copies of these Testaments. (2)

(1) Strype, E.M., Vol.1, p.55.

(2) Wilkins, Concilia, lll, p 706.

This Proclamation was followed by another warning to the printers not to print, import or sell any unlicensed book, and a similar prohibition was printed in German, for the benefit of the Hansa merchants of the Steelyard, who had been dabbling in the Lutheran book trade. (1) For further guidance as to what was and what was not permitted, an index of eighteen prohibited Lutheran books was drawn up. (2)

These measures by the church authorities were backed by energetic activity in tracking down and prosecuting the leaders of the Lutheran colporteurs. (3) But it was proving impossible to keep Lutheran books out of London, where the presence of many foreign merchants and the mobile nature of the population facilitated their import, and the old Lollard network of book men facilitated their dissemination. In 1529 therefore, the state threw its weight behind the Church and issued a Proclamation enforcing statutes against heresy and prohibiting unlicensed preaching and heretical books. (4) An interesting preamble recites the connection between heresy and sedition, and warns against " the corruption and malice of indiscreet preachers ... as by certain heretical and blasphemous books lately made and privately sent into this realm by the disciples ... of the said Martin Luther and other heretics whereby the King's subjects be likely to be corrupted, unless his highness (as Defender of the Faith) do put to his most gracious help and authority royal to the due and speedy reformation thereof." In order to cope with such " erroneous books copied, printed and written as well in the English tongue as in Latin and other languages, replete with most venomous heresies, blasphemies and slanders intolerable to the clean ears of any good Christian man," the proclamation declared that all existing laws were to be executed. Reciting in particular the terms of the Statute of 1401 which placed compilers or handlers of heretical books under threat of the fire, it went on to extend these sanctions to anyone who should import, sell, receive, take or detain " any book or work printed or written ... against the faith Catholic or against the holy decrees ... of Holy Church or in reproach, rebuke or slander of the King, his honourable council or his lords spiritual or temporal." An Index of forbidden English works was appended (5) and at the same time the bishops issued a list of almost ninety condemned works. (6)

(1) Den wirdigen heren Burgemeysteren der Stat Coelln, (London 1526).

(2) See below p. 75ff.

(3) See Chapter 11 p. 91.

(4) Proclamation 6 March 1529, Hughes & Larkin, p. 181, (vol. I), no. 122.

(5) See below p. 76.

(6) Wilkins, Concilia, 111, pp. 717-724.

This Proclamation contains nothing revolutionary. It restates the position as it had been for more than a hundred years, in which the King and his officers were pledged to support the church in its fight against heresy, while the definition of heresy, and the tasks of trial and punishment remained with the bishops. And yet within a year of this Proclamation responsibility for censoring books was taken away from the church and given, in effect, to the Council. It might be suggested that the reason for such a takeover lay in the church's inability to deal with the problem of heretical books. Certainly the bishops were hard pressed at this time. But the evidence of publication, prosecution and trial in the twenties when the church was in control and in the thirties when the state took over, suggests that the ecclesiastical authorities were far more vigorous in pursuit of doctrinal purity than was the Council. (1) Whatever might have been the pretext cited for the King's takeover of the press, its true motive was not the preservation of doctrinal orthodoxy against the assaults of the Lutherans.

The significance of the year 1529/30 as a year in which not only the methods but even the objects of government changed has been pointed out by Professor Elton.

(2) Part of this change was concerned with the pre-empting of many functions previously performed by the church. That control of the press was among the earliest duties to be taken over by the state suggests an appreciation of its propaganda value and a deliberate decision to use it to further the King's matrimonial affairs. We have seen how heresy legislation constantly harped on the link between heresy and sedition. But where Catherine's divorce was concerned, no reliance could be placed on the bishops to prevent the circulation of such seditious works as Fisher's De Causa Matrimonii (3)

The King therefore, seized the initiative. In May 1530, while the bishops issued their injunctions forbidding the handling of certain books and expanding the Index, Star Chamber issued its own condemnation of Tyndale's New Testament. The King then appointed a commission from the universities "to examine certain English books commonly read among the people, containing erroneous and pestiferous words, sentences and conclusions, which might pervert their judgements, and occasion division and contention in the chief points and articles of our faith and religion, whereon is like to ensue ... the dissolution of our commonwealth." (4)

(1) See Chapter 11.

(2) GRElton, The Tudor Revolution in Government, (1953. reprint Cambridge 1962.) p.19.

(3) De Causa Matrimonii serenissimi Regis Angliae (Alcala 1530.)

(4) L & P, Vol.IV, 3, p.2859. May 1530.

In September a Proclamation was issued forbidding the sueing or publication of any judgements from Rome, or elsewhere " containing matter prejudicial to the high authority, jurisdiction and prerogative royal of this his said Realm, or the let hindrance or impeachment of his grace's noble and virtuous intended purposes in the premises, upon pain of incurring the King's high indignation ..." (1) With papal pronouncements thus banned, the King issued an interesting Proclamation prohibiting erroneous books and Bible Translations. Like the proclamation of the previous year, this recites at length the dangers of " blasphemous and pestiferous English books, printed in other regions and sent into this realm " to subvert the faith and incite disobedience and rebellion. But now the King, " by his incomparable wisdom," takes upon himself the responsibility of foiling " the malicious suggestion of our ghostly enemy." He has himself summoned his Primates and divines " giving unto them liberty to speak and declare plainly their advices, judgements and determinations concerning as well the approbation or rejecting of such books as be in any part suspected, as also the admission and divulgation of the Old and New Testament, translated into English. Whereupon his highness, in his own royal person, calling to him the said Primates and divines, hath seriously and deeply, with great leisure and long deliberation, consulted, debated, insearched and discussed the premises, and finally, by all their free assents, consents and agreements, concluded, resolved and determined " that the following books are heretical ... An Index here follows on the same lines as that drawn up by the bishops in May. The proclamation forbids the acquisition of these books, whether in English, French or Dutch, and all other English books printed abroad, and orders them to be handed in to the ordinary. Lay magistrates discovering anyone withholding any are to arrest them " and bring him or them to the King's highness and his most honourable Council, where they shall be corrected and punished for their contempt and disobedience." (2)

In this highly significant proclamation the King not only takes it upon himself to be the final arbiter, after advice taken, of what was or was not heresy, but he also subjects to royal scrutiny books already condemned as heretical by the church. Punishment for handling heretical books is now the responsibility of the Council, and the only role left to the ordinary is that of an examiner of texts .

(1) Proclamation 12 Sept. 1530. Hughes and Larkin, Vol.1, p. 197, no.130.

(2) Proclamation 22 June 1530 Hughes and Larkin, Vol.1, p.193, no.129.

The King does in fact condemn the books indexed in the proclamation of 1529, and the injunctions of May, 1530, but he gives no guarantee that he will back future ecclesiastical judgements. On the contrary, by reopening the case of the condemned books, and by the suggestion in the latter half of the Proclamation that a vernacular Bible might be allowed in the future "if it shall then seem to his grace convenient", the King hints that his censorship might not always operate against reform.

This Proclamation is typical of the kind of censorship that operated in England for the rest of Henry's reign. As with his religious policy as a whole, the application or non-application of doctrinal censorship depended entirely upon diplomatic and dynastic considerations. This Proclamation, with its subtle hints of future reform, its stress on the preservation of orthodoxy by the authority of the King alone, was as much a diplomatic ploy as a piece of book legislation. Nevertheless, the central role which it assigned to the Council in the regulation of the book trade was never subsequently altered, even under Mary. Meanwhile, Henry's willingness to vacillate over doctrinal orthodoxy enabled Cromwell, with assistance from Cranmer, to open the door to the English Bible, and to turn a blind eye on the import of protestant books. It also gave him the power to prevent the publication of papist or seditious literature.

Further relaxation on the question of heretical printing took place in 1533, when an Act for the punishment of heresy repealed the 1401 statute which made dealing in heretical books a burning offence. The other Lollard legislation remained in force, but the drift of the Act is clear. Complaining that in many cases the Pope's canon law was at variance with the King's law, and that anyway no one understood the canon law, it added that the words of the act

"are so general that unneeth the most expert and best learned men of your Realm, diligently lying in wait upon himself, can eschew and avoid the penalty and danger of the same act and canonical sanctions, if he should be examined upon such captious interrogations as is and hath been accustomed to be ministered." (1)

The Act of Supremacy of the following year confirmed Henry's authority to "visit, repress, redress, reform, order, correct, restrain and amend all such errors, heresies, abuses, offences, contempts and

(1) 25 Hen. VIII, cap. 14. S R III, p.454.

enormities what so ever." This was followed by a further restriction on papal propaganda, in the Act extinguishing the authority of the Bishop of Rome, 1536, which appointed the penalties of praemunire to anyone who, "by writing, ciphiring, printing, preaching or teaching.. ..extol, set forth, maintain or defend the authority, jurisdiction or power of the....Bishop of Rome." The wheel had here turned full circle for the bishops were given the job of enquiring for and arresting offenders, who would then be handed over for trial and punishment to the civil authorities. Moreover, the laity were specifically charged with vigilance in making sure that the clergy performed their duties adequately. (1) Wriothesley describes how the Justices were instructed to ensure that a sufficient number of English Bibles were provided in their shires, and to see "that the curates and priests should preach the word of God sincerely, and truly, to the people, and suffer the people to have the Bible and Testament, and to see that they accused no person of heresy but that he should be examined and tried before the justices in their sessions, and there to make their answers, and trials, according to the statutes of this realm..." (2)

It is clear then that the early seizure of control of the press by the King, a take over both earlier and more thorough than occurred in the Empire, where the battle against heretical literature waged most fiercely, was not a reflection of the King's zeal for orthodoxy, but rather of his desire to retain within his own hands the control of every medium of propaganda in pursuit of his dynastic aims. (3) It is equally clear that Henry was not motivated by a desire to ease the way for heretical books. If he allowed some relaxation of doctrinal censorship, it was for political reasons only, and a change in the diplomatic climate was likely to produce a clamp down on the press. In particular, the King shared the general horror of anything that smacked of Anabaptism, and was also very sensitive over attacks on the sacrament of the Altar. In a Proclamation of 1538 the King complained of books in English imported from abroad, as well as "such like books as have been printed within his realm, set forth

(1) 26 Hen. VIII, cap. 1. S R III, p.492.
28 Hen. VIII, cap.10. S R III, p.664.

(2) Wriothesley, I, p.74.

(3) Rudolph Hirsch, Printing, Selling and Reading 1450-1550, (1967.)

with privilege, containing annotations and additions in the margins, prologues and calendars, imagined and invented as well by the makers, devisers and printers of the same books as by sundry persons called Anabaptists and Sacramentaries, which be lately come into this realm." These books aroused arguments and sinister opinions and led to the abuse of the sacraments and laudable customs of the realm and Church of England, "to his grace's high discontentation and displeasure." Considering his duty "to conserve his said realm and church, committed to his charge....from all wicked errors", he declared that none is to import any English book, nor sell, give, utter or publish any such books unless they have special license from the King. All new English books were to be examined by the Privy Council, or by the appointed examiners, and the term "cum privilegio regali" was to be modified by the phrase "ad imprimendum solum". (1) Not only had the text itself to be approved but also any annotation on the scriptures, and translators were to declare themselves. The second part of the Proclamation gave Anabaptists and Sacramentaries ten days to avoid the realm, on pain of death, and forbade all but scholars to discuss ~~the~~ sacrament of the altar. (2)

The Injunctions of the same year which carried the same articles, (3) clarified the system of examining and clamped down on the import of books from abroad whence most of the more extreme protestant polemic was coming. Nevertheless, English printers were not greatly affected until the notorious Act of Six Articles appeared. (4) The first clause of this act declared that anyone who "by word, writing, ciph^ring or in any other-wise do publish, preach, teach, say, affirm, etc." any denial of the Real Presence or transubstantiation, was to be burned as a heretic, his goods being forfeit. No recantation would serve to save such a one. Denial by word, writing, printing, ciph^ring or otherwise of the other articles, (communion in one kind only, vows of chastity, private masses, clerical celibacy and auricular confession) was to be punished by imprisonment at pleasure and loss of goods at the first offence. For a second offence the perpetrator would be hanged as a felon. All books in which there was any sentence repugnant to these six articles were to be burned.

(1) See above p. 21.

(2) Proclamation 16 November 1538. Hughes and Larkin 1. p.270, no.186.

(3) Foxe, V, p.258.

(4) 31 Hen. VIII, cap.14, S R III, p.739.

The act had a devastating effect on the book trade, and the fall of Cromwell removed the defence which had to some extent protected reforming propagandists from the vagaries of Henry's policies.

The main article against Cromwell was this very fact of his protection of heretical preachers and heretical book men and no-one questioned the truth of this article. What was surprising was that the King should choose to object now, after a decade in which the protestant writers and printers had sheltered under Cromwell's wing.

The burning of Robert Barnes, the arch-colporteur, spread further alarm among the printers, many of whom were harrassed by the authorities in the years following the Six Articles.(1)

Two years later an Act for the Advancement of True Religion eased the situation a little, by reducing the penalty for printing, publishing, selling, giving or delivering any of the books or writings afore abolished and prohibited, that is, Tyndale's translations, and anything contrary to the Six Articles, from the extreme punishment prescribed in that Act, to three months imprisonment or a £10 fine for *each* book. A second offence was punishable by loss of goods and perpetual imprisonment. Possession of condemned books, or of works against the Sacrament of the Altar, or containing Anabaptist views was to incur a fine of £5 per book. Works containing illegal sentences were to be handed in and notes and preambles in Bibles to be blotted out, on pain of a fine not to exceed 40s. Official publications, chronicles, works of Chaucer and Gower, moral plays, songs and stories of men's lives were exempted. So were "all such books containing matters of Religion as the King's Majesty shall by his bill assigned allow and approve." But they were to carry full information, as stipulated in previous legislation, and the superscriptions "by the King and his clergy." (2) This Act offered some relief to the printers and stationers, and in 1545 the Commons threw out a bill against heretical books. A bill did pass the following year, but it merely reiterated the terms of the Act of 1542. (3)

But the most serious problem for the printers in the years following the fall of Cromwell was the difficulty of knowing, amid the shifting sands of Henry VIII's diplomatically orientated religious

(1) See chap.11.

(2) 34 & 5. Hen VIII, cap. 1, S R 111, p.895 .

(3) See L. B. Smith, "Henry VIII and the Protestant Triumph" in American Historical Review, Vol. LXXI. (1966) p. 123,

policy, what was permissible and what was not. Once the hard line of Catholic orthodoxy, as judged and defended by the ecclesiastical courts, had been breached, and given Henry's reluctance to conclude any permanent and open Protestant settlement, writers and printers had no way of knowing how their works would be received. The Proclamation of 1530 had suggested that books once banned by the King might be allowed at some future date, but the anxiety of printers was rather that those books which were permissible this month might be prohibited next. The Act of 1542 outlined above only served to underline the problem, when it included the considerate clause that "no person shall incur any pain or penalty in this act for offending of any doctrine hereafter to be set forth by the King's Majesty... till one month be past next after such doctrine shall be put in print." If one takes into consideration the time needed to acquire and translate, as well as set up, correct, print off and gather a religious tract, it is clear that all but the slimmest volumes must have taken well over a month from inception to completion. There were few printers who dare risk capital setting up a work which might become illegal the day before completion.

The undecided nature of Henrician Anglicanism also presented problems to the government when it came to enforcing censorship. With accepted doctrine liable to change, the only method of control flexible enough to adapt to such changes was the Index of Forbidden Books, which could be expanded or contracted at short notice. In England, such an Index had existed since the 1401 statute, when possession of certain books such as the Lollard scriptures, or Wycliff's Wicket, became proof of heretical pravity. No formal Index was drawn up, but these particular works were known to be forbidden, several others also being suspect.⁽¹⁾ Also known to be forbidden were books of prophecy, conjuring or magic. The Papal ban on all Lutheran books was interpreted in Tunstall's warning of 1524 to mean any theological works issuing from Germany. To make such a general ban effective, it was necessary to introduce a board of censors and to insist on the examination of all new works. But the first book to provoke specific condemnation was Tyndale's translation of the New Testament, 1526. Partly this was a reiteration of the old ban on vernacular scriptures, but Tyndale's Testament enjoyed such wide circulation, and had such an impact, that the authorities evidently felt that it required specific action. This prohibition on the Tyndale Testament also produced the first official Index, containing seventeen books both in English and Latin which were deemed to be heretical and which were not to be handled.

(1) See Dickens, A. G., The English Reformation, (1964), p.30.

This list included several works by Tyndale, Fish's Supplication of Beggars, and translations from Luther. (1)

The Proclamation of 1529 expanded this list to include the following English Books:

Tyndale;	New Testament
	Wicked Mammon
	Obedience of a Christian Man
	Matrimony / Exposition of the Seventh Chapter of the First Epistle to the Corinthians
	Genesis
	Deuteronomy
	Practise of Prelates
	Introduction to Paul's Epistle to the Romans
Luther;	Revelation of Antichrist
	Exposition upon the Pater Noster
W. Roy;	Disputation between the Father and the Son
	The Burying of the Mass
Fish;	Supplication of Beggars
	Sum of the Scriptures
Bullinger;	Christian State of Matrimony
	A Book of the Old God and the New
	Godly Prayers
	Matins and Evensong with other devotions
	Hortulus Animæ in English
	A.B.C. against the clergy
	The Examination of William Thorpe.

The injunctions of 1530 added Frith's Revelation of Antichrist and all current translations of the Bible. The lists of 1529 and 1530 did not include all the works found in the earlier lists, but it was understood that all works previously condemned were to remain forbidden. Also banned at this time were eighty-five Latin books, including works by Wycliff, Luther, Decolampadius, Zwingli, Pomerain, Pellican, Bucer, Melancthon, Brentz, Lambert, Wessel, Gocchius, Faventine and Carlstadt.(2) This list offered a useful guide to printers, booksellers and magistrates, but it was not intended to be exhaustive. Strype mentions other books current at this time and considered heretical, but not on the Index, such as Tyndale's Answer to More, The Primer in English, Process consistorial of the Martyrdom of John Huss, Catalogue of Famous Men (Bale's Catalogue ?) (3)

(1) Strype, E.M., vol.I, p. 254, October 23 . 1526.

(2) Foxe, vol IV, pp. 667-670.
Proclamation 6 March 1529, Hughes and Larkin vol. I, p. 181, no. 122.
Strype, E.M., vol. I, p. 254.
Wilkins, Concilia, p. 717 and 719.
L & P, vol. IV, p.2872-3.

(3) Strype, E. M., vol. I, p.255.

Numbers of Lollard books were also in circulation, such as the Bayly, the Apocalypse, and the Prick of Conscience. Their names did not figure on any official Index, but possession of them was considered an adequate basis for prosecution for heresy. (1) Possibly, they were not included on the Index on account of being in manuscript, or possibly their status as banned books was thought to be sufficiently well known. To cover such omissions, lists of banned books were commonly accompanied by a general ban on all books impugning the Catholic faith, and the fact that a title had not appeared on an Index was not considered an adequate defence for handling a heretical book. In 1531, for example, Michael Lobley, a printer with strong protestant sympathies, was in trouble for importing from Antwerp The Wicked Mammon, The Obedience of a Christian Man, The Revelation of Antichrist, (all banned by name in the Proclamation of 1530) and Frith against Purgatory, which was termed an "inhibited book" despite its absence from the Index of 1530. (2) Several other people were prosecuted at this time for dealing in heretical books, (3) but from then until 1538, all the books which led stationers into trouble were pro-papal works, which did not appear on any Index. Notable among these were the Nun's Book, an account of the visions of Elizabeth Barton, More's works, such as the Comfort against Tribulation and his Answer to Tyndale's Poisoned Book, and the many controversial works of Fisher. Meanwhile, the volume of protestant polemic had been growing rapidly, so that by 1542 the authorities were having trouble keeping track of them all. In that year Bonner issued a revised Index of thirty-eight books, including Frith against Purgatory and Matthew's Glosses on Romans, "printed beyond the sea without privelege, set in his Bible in English." (4) But the same year the Proclamation issued against unauthorised Bibles and Heretical books, declared that, "being the books increased to an infinite number and unknown diversities of titles and name" it was necessary for the King to use his general prohibition against all Bibles but the Great Bible, and all works of Frith, Tyndale, Wycliff, Joye, Basil, Bale, Barnes, Coverdale, Turner or Tracy, or any other book containing matter contrary to the doctrine set forth and established by Parliament. (5) *This list covered* most of the more effective propaganda produced by

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- (1) Strype E. M., Vol. 1, p.113-126 contains an account of the visitation of London in the Summer of 1527, in which several of these works figured.
 - (2) Foxe, V, p.38.
 - (3) See Chap. 2.
 - (4) Foxe, V, Appendix X.
 - (5) Proclamation against Unauthorised Bibles, L & P, Vol. XVII, (1542), p.7 9.

the English Protestants, any unfamiliar books found in the possession of gospellers, such as Tolwyn's Catechism of Pacimontanus, being covered by the general ban at the end. (1)

This index remained unaltered for the rest of Henry's reign, and the combination of banned authors, banned doctrines and banned books gave the possibility of a very effective censorship, though its enforcement was erratic. By now the lists of prohibited titles numbered about 100, most of them Latin treatises, but with the addition of the English books listed above. English works were covered in the main by the list of authors. (2) In fact, the quantity of protestant literature on the market by this time was such that an Index of titles was losing its value. Mary preferred to rely upon an Index of prohibited authors, backed by a general condemnation of works of heresy. Her Proclamation enforcing the Statutes against Heresy combined these two elements, containing a list of heretical writers of both English and Continental works. Continental theologians banned included most of those found on the list of 1530, (3) with a few omissions and some significant additions, such as Calvin, a Lasco, Ochino and Peter Martyr, and the English list lost Joye, Tracy and Wycliff, and gained Hooper, Latimer and Cranmer. For any works not included under the list of authors, the Proclamation contained a general clause prohibiting "any other like book, paper, writing or work made, printed or set forth by any other person or persons, containing false doctrine, contrary and against the Catholic faith." The only books which were banned by name were Hall's Chronicle, and the Book of Common Prayer. (4)

The main purpose of these lists would appear to have been to remove any excuse a defendant might offer that he was ignorant as to what book was or was not heretical. They were commonly issued as proclamations, and also circulated among the clergy as Injunctions, and the public was expected to know what they contained. Under Henry in particular possession of prohibited books was a dangerous matter. Poor Tolwyn, who had kept "books of heresy and other unlawful works, forbidden by the King's Majesty's proclamation and ordinances

(1) Harryson, Yet a Course at the Romyshe foxe, (1543) p. 49 v.

(2) For this Index, see Foxe, vol. V, p.566/7.

(3) See above p. 76.

(4) Proclamation enforcing heresy statutes, 13 June 1555, Hughes and Larkin, vol. II, p. 57, no. 422. The complete list of banned authors reads as follows; Zwingli, Oecolampadius, Calvin, Pomerain, a Lasco, Bullinger, Rucer, Melancthon, Ochino, Erasmus, Sarcerius, Peter Martyr, Hugh Latimer, Robert Barnes, John Bale, Justus Jonas, John Hooper, Miles Coverdale, William Tyndale, Cranmer, Turner, Becon, Frith and Roy.

and also contrary to the degree and inhibition of mine ordinary", was forced to do penance for his foolhardiness. (1)

The Index of named books had been a particularly useful device for Henry VIII in his fight against heresy, as it could be expanded or contracted, enforced or allowed to lapse, as diplomatic considerations demanded. With the accession of Edward however a great deal that had formerly been considered heretical became acceptable, and active promotion of protestant polemic took the place of official hostility. (2) Censoring legislation thus became inappropriate. The Act of Repeals of 1547 removed all the heresy legislation of Henry's reign and with it all restraints on the printers and stationers with respect to the handling of heretical books. (3) The immediate result of this liberalisation was a flood of propaganda, including an element of Anabaptist and sacramentary writing. The government countered with a Proclamation forbidding "unseemly and ungodly words" against the Sacrament, and it seems that some action was taken against printers of rabid street literature. (4)

A feeling that liberty had gone too far and was threatening social order led in August 1549 to the reintroduction of censorship by the Council, though now the offensive productions were political rather than religious and mainly concerned with the covetous and ungodly proceedings of members of the Council. But Edward's reign did see a new development in the field of religious censorship. This was a move towards condemning Catholic books as heretical and putting them on an Index. Under Henry, papist productions had commonly been treated as treasonable rather than heretical and none had appeared on any list of heretical works. But the proclamation of 25 December 1549 contained an interesting innovation. It gave a list of Catholic service books which were to be called in and destroyed on religious as well as political grounds, that is, because they encouraged people to hope that they would have their Latin mass again, "with such like vain and superstitious ceremonies... which were but a preferring of ignorance to knowledge, and darkness to light, and a preparation to bring ⁱⁿ papistry and superstition again." (5) Similar sentiments had been voiced by Cromwell in his Injunctions ordering the correction of service books, but they had never before been

Harryson, Yet a course at the romyshe foxe, (1543) fol. 17 r.

(2) See Chapter III.

(3) 1 Edward VI, cap. 12, clause 11, S.R. vol. IV, p. 18.

(4) Proclamation 27 Dec. 1547, Hughes and Larkin, vol. 1, p. 410, no. 296. For action against the printers see Chapter II, p. 142.

(5) Proclamation 25 Dec. 1549, Hughes and Larkin, vol. 1, p. 485, no. 353.

backed by a list of Catholic books to be handed in and destroyed on pain of imprisonment. This list, which included "all antiphonaries, missals, grails, processions, manuals, legends, lives, porcastes, tourrals (journals?) and ordinals, after the use of **Sorum**, Lincoln, York, Bangor, Hereford, or any other private use, and all other books of service, the Keeping whereof should be a let to the using of the said Book of Common Prayer", is in effect the first Protestant Index. The accompanying Act complained that the works listed contained "things corrupt, untrue, vain and superstitious" and added to ^{it} all Primers except that authorised by Henry VIII, and couchers. These, it declared, were to be "utterly abolished, extinguished and forbidden for ever to be used or kept in this realm." (1)

There is no other legislation from Edward's reign which dealt specifically with religious censorship, but the evidence suggests that a ban on Catholic books did in fact operate quite successfully, (2) and Gardiner claimed in 1554 that during these years "all such writers as did hold anything with the Apostolic See were condemned and forbidden to be read." Presumably he was referring to the condemnation under the Treason Act of 1547, which retained Henry's ban on publications favouring the Pope. On the other wing, the Anabaptists were proceeded against for heresy, but no action seems to have been taken against their books which circulated freely. (3) The Edwardian Council certainly operated censorship of the press, but its main drive, at least during the years of the Protectorate, was towards utilising rather than subduing the propaganda boom. What pressure there was for a clamp down on free expression came from political and not religious sources.

The dominant role of the Council in the enforcement of censorship dated, as we have seen, for the Proclamation of 1530. but responsibilities changed with the enactment of the Royal Supremacy. The Council which had previously had the task of carrying out the King's secular policy was now responsible for enforcing his religious settlement too, and the task of censorship became one of maintaining doctrinal purity as well as preventing the appearance of tracts hostile to the King. With the accession of Mary, and the return to Rome, one would have

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- (1) 3 & 4 Edward VI, cap.10, S.R. Vol. 1V, p.110; Procl. 25 Dec.,
Hughes and Larkin, I,
(2) See Chap. 11. p.169ff. p. 485, no 353.
(3) e.g. J. Champneys, The Harvest is at Hand wherein the tares shall be bound and brent, (H. Powell, 1548)

expected the Council to have shed this role, and the determination and prevention of heresy to have returned to the ecclesiastical authorities. Obviously, this could not be achieved overnight. In August, 1553, the Queen's proclamation offering freedom of conscience once again demanded that all printed books must first be licensed by Her Majesty, and those who offended in this regard would still be dealt with by the Privy Council. (1) The Proclamation of the following March listed the articles which the Queen required the bishops to execute, once again on the basis of the Supremacy. These included - "That every bishop and all other persons aforesaid do likewise travail for the condemning and repressing of corrupt and naughty opinions, unlawful books, ballads, and other pernicious and hurtful devices, engendering hatred among the people and discord among the same." (2)

The return to allegiance to the Pope in November 1554 theoretically returned all responsibility for the definition and pursuit of heresy to the ecclesiastical courts, the state stepping back into the role of auxiliary. The Statutes against heresy which Edward had repealed were duly restored and absolution sought for the sins of schism, including the pre-emption of ecclesiastical jurisdiction by the state. But the political nature of much of the heretical literature of Mary's reign, which became overtly seditious as the reign wore on, but which contained within it seditious tendencies from the beginning, made it impossible for Mary to hand over control completely to the church. The Queen's preoccupation with this connection between the two forms of dissent in turn strengthened that link, and the events of the reign further confused the issue. (3)

By June 1555 the failure of Mary's pregnancy, rumours that Philip was to be crowned, and the beginning of the heresy burnings combined to produce a rising tide of criticism in which religious and political dissent were inextricably mixed. (4) A Proclamation was therefore issued, restating the effect of the Statutes against Heresy, which had been revised the previous Christmas, and complaining that "as yet, nevertheless, in most parts of the

(1) Proclamation 18: August 1553. Hughes and Larkin, Vol. 11, p.5, no.390.

(2) Proclamation 4: March 1554. Hughes and Larkin, Vol.11, p.35, no.407.

(3) Bishop Bonner's Register, CCCXLII v. (Guildhall Library)
See D.M.Loades, The Oxford Porters, Chap.IV, p.101.

(4) A Warning for England, (1555) and Certayne Questions Demanded, (1555), were two of the most virulent..

realm the same is neglected and little regarded." The King and Queen, declares the Proclamation,

"most entirely and earnestly tendering the preservation and safety as well of the souls as of the bodies, lands and substance of all their good and loving subjects and others, and minding to root out and extinguish all false doctrine and heresies and other occasions of schisms, divisions and sects, that come by the same heresies and false doctrine."

command that no-one import any of the books listed in the Index appended. All books covered by this Index were to be handed in to the ordinary within fifteen days and burnt or otherwise defaced as the canon law demanded. Anyone offending against this Proclamation will incur the penalties of the Statute against heresy, and also incur "their majesties high indignation and displeasure, and further answer at their uttermost perils." The final paragraph begins "And their majesties, by this proclamation give full power and authority" to both ecclesiastical and lay officers to search out and enquire into defaulters, but the power to imprison offenders was restricted to the lay officers. (1)

It is true that the statute here being enforced was intended to confirm the rights of the church to control the trial and punishment of heretics. Nevertheless, there is nothing in the wording of the proclamation, except for a passing reference to canon law, to distinguish it from the utterances of Mary's father at his most Supreme. The ecclesiastical authorities have clearly been relegated to the position of auxiliaries of the state in the battle against heresy, a direct reverse of the situation that obtained when the statutes were first enacted.

The Queen's inclination to retain within her own hands responsibility for enforcing censorship in both religious and secular fields, found further expression in the Commission appointed by the King and Queen in 1556 to search out heresies. The Commission ran as follows:

"Forasmuch as divers devilish and slanderous persons, having not only invented, bruited and set forth divers false rumours, tales and seditious slanders against us, but also have sown divers heresies and heretical opinions and set forth divers seditious books within this our realm of England, meaning thereby to move, procure and stir up division, strife, contention and sedition not only amongst our loving subjects but also betwixt us and our said subjects, with divers other outrageous misdeemeanours, enormities, contempts and offences daily committed and done to the disquieting of us and our people, We minding and intending the due punishments of such offenders, and the repressing

(1) Proclamation 13 June 1555. Hughes and Larkin, Vol. 11, p. 57, no. 422.

of such like offences, enormities, and misbehaviours, from henceforth, and having special trust, etc..." commission the following..."to enquire as well by the oaths of twelve good and lawfull men as by witnesses and all other means and politic ways ye can devise of all and singular heresies, heretical opinions, Lollardies, heretical and seditious books, conspiracies and confederacies."

They are also commissioned to search out any spoken or written slanders against the King or Queen or their government, and to prosecute the importers, publishers, sellers, readers, Keepers and conveyors of any such books, rumours, or tales, and their helpers. The commissioners were given power to search for and confiscate all such works " wheresoever they or any of them shall be found as well in printers houses or shops as elsewhere", and were also empowered to investigate absence from confession or communion. A caveat at the end insists that "we will and our intent and meaning is that the truth, judgement and determination of heresy and of all other things...being mere spiritual and determinable by the ecclesiastical laws" shall be left to ecclesiastical jurisdiction, the King and Queen only intending " as we are bound and chiefly being there unto required, extend and impart our Kingly aid, help and favour in the advancement and execution of the same in all things which to the office and duty of Catholic prince^s doth appertain." (1)

But the saving clause does not disguise the fact that the King and Queen have taken over once again the entire responsibility for the pursuit of heresy and heretical books. The wording of the Commission betrays clearly that by now the Queen saw heresy merely as an offshoot of sedition, as another expression of a treasonable wish to subvert her rule and stir up civil disorder. Her final Proclamation on the subject of heretical books underlined this view. Complaining of "divers books filled both with heresy, sedition and treason" which have been imported, or secretly printed in England, and then cast abroad throughout the realm, it went on to place possession of such "wicked and seditious books" under Martial Law. Presumably in this second reference, "heretical" is taken as read. (2) It is clear that even under Catholic Mary, control of the censorship of books remained where it had been placed by the Proclamation of 1530, with the King in Council. Despite nods in the direction of the church authorities, the circumstances of Mary's reign prevented her from yielding up her control of the press to the church. Nor did she display

(1) C/66/897, m.20 & 21 d. *P.R.O.*

(2) Proclamation 6 June 1558. Hughes and Larkin, vol. 11, p.90/91, no.443.

any real desire to do so.

After twenty years of Conciliar rule the attitudes of both Queen and country had become set in the ways of absolutism and Mary clearly did not believe that the church was capable of fulfilling the function of censorship with any efficiency. But it would be wrong to suppose that after 1530 the church resigned all responsibility for books and made no effort to prevent the circulation of heretical literature. For two years after the proclamation of 1530, Bishop Stokesley waged a vigorous war against Lutheran booksellers in London (1) and the campaign only subsided in 1532, when further assaults on the powers of the church undermined its confidence in dealing with such things, and the rise of Cromwell gave the Protestant bookmen a powerful ally and defender. In 1534, Convocation petitioned the King "to command all his subjects who had in their possession any books of suspected doctrine, especially in the vulgar tongue, imprinted beyond or this side the sea, to bring them in within three months." (2) In fact, instead of obtaining such co-operation, the church was further chastised in the Act of Parliament of that year which complained of the injustices of ecclesiastical heresy hunting. But Injunctions continued to enquire into the distribution of heretical books, even if they merely reflected proclamations on the subject, and in the prosecutions that followed the Act of Six Articles, in which several printers were troubled, the church authorities were once again vigorous in pursuit of such literature. Book burnings and penances, the two most popular ecclesiastical sanctions, remained the main method of dealing with such offences. (3)

By Mary's reign, however, the initiative in matters concerning censorship had become so much a part of conciliar rather than ecclesiastical jurisdiction, that even after responsibility had been officially handed back to Pole in line with the last Lateran Council, the synod was still being directed in this matter by Mary. (4) In 1558, the Interrogatories drawn up for the questioning of church wardens included several articles on books, including whether there were any of the parish suspected of keeping "any heretical, naughty, seditious erroneous book or books, especially english testaments or Bibles falsely translated or otherwise", "whether...any printers or

(1) See Chap. II

(2) Foxe, V, p.809.

(3) e.g. the penance imposed upon Tolwyn, and the book burning held at St. Pauls, 1546.

(4) See Mary's suggestions for dealing with the problem, Ven Cal, Vol. VI, part 1, p.347.

booksellers...hath sold or now doth sell or keep any the said...books" whether any parishioners were using the Prayer Book, and whether there were any publishers or importers of slanderous or seditious books. (1)

These interrogatories were not issued by the Queen's printer, being published instead by Robert Caly, the leading Catholic propagandist, and in them some attempt is made to differentiate between heretical and slanderous works. Whether the church authorities would have been able to make their formal control of censorship a reality, given more years of Catholic rule, is impossible to say, for the succession of Elizabeth once more reversed the situation. In the Act restoring jurisdiction over the church to the crown, the position as it obtained at the end of Edward's reign was restored, with control of censorship once again in the hands of the Council. But now it was clearly laid down that heresy was to be determined by Scripture and the first four General Councils, interpreted by Parliament or Convocation. (2) *Irreligious* abuse of the sacrament was once again banned, heresy laws repealed and support of the Pope in writing, printing, teaching, etc., once again made High Treason. The nature of Elizabethan censorship was defined more clearly in the Injunctions of 1559, which laid down that the Board of Censors should consist of six members of the Privy Council, together with the Archbishops, Bishops and archdeacons. Books were to be licensed either by the Privy Council, or by two of the ecclesiastical members, including a bishop. This partnership in the task of censorship between the Convocation and Parliament, and between the Council and the Bishops implies a true fusion of church and state in which each partner carried equal weight and was accorded equal dignity. It was a partnership which could not be achieved until a degree of unity had been reached between the two powers as to their relative fields of jurisdiction, and as to the nature of the orthodoxy they wished to defend.

In this summary of jurisdiction concerning the control of the press I have concentrated on illegal, treasonable, heretical and scandalous books. It is perhaps useful to add that a very large proportion of the literature on sale in London, and being circulated throughout the country was entirely unobjectionable, consisting of legal and medical text books, classics, romances, news sheets, almanacks and handbooks on cooking and sailing, geography, household accounting, horse management, mathematics. (3)

(1) Interrogatories upon which the Church wardens shall be charged, (1558 Caly.) A ii v, A iii, r & v, A iii r.

(2) 1 Eliz. cap. 1, S.R. IV.

(3) See H. S. Bennett, English books and readers, for a breakdown of the variety of works on sale.

Such works were governed by the trade regulations described above and were of no interest to the government. But the problem of religious books was a large one, for they constituted a large section of the books in circulation and their potential for disruption was considerable. To what extent the legislation outlined above was enforced, and how far the government succeeded in stamping out printed dissent is the next question to be considered.

Chapter 2

To What Extent did the Government succeed in controlling the Printers ?
(1)

Henry VIII 1. Protestant Literature

The impact of the Lutheran reformation in England was so directly dependent upon the import of Lutheran literature, and especially of Tyndale's translation of the New Testament, that from the first the battle against heresy was identified with the battle against heretical books. The traditions of Lollardy, with its surreptitious circulation of forbidden texts, emphasised both to the reformers and to the authorities the influence such literature could have even among relatively unlettered people. Anxiety about seditious heretical books was already a habit of mind among English prelates. John Fines has pointed out that in heresy trials in Lichfield and Coventry at the beginning of the sixteenth century, "the court displayed more interest in the heretics' books than in their doctrine." (2)

Indeed, so nervous had the ecclesiastical authorities become, that any English book was viewed with suspicion. (3) The arrival in England of Lutheran polemic was therefore greeted with almost total hostility by the English bishops, and the campaign they fought against the spread of such literature was energetic, and in the circumstances quite successful. There is no room in this thesis to study that campaign in depth, but some account of it is necessary in order to assess accurately the effect which the state take over of censorship had upon the printing trade.

Lutheran literature began to reach England in 1519 and by 1520 a considerable number of Luther's works were circulating in the university towns. The natural traffic in books and letters between scholars, both within and outside the country, facilitated the spread of such works, and an interest in new ideas caused them to be well received and widely debated. This was not necessarily evidence of religious enthusiasm; there were many who, like Bilney, came to Erasmus' New Testament "allured rather by the Latin than by the word of God." (4) But whether the attraction were religious or academic, Lutheran literature was widely

(1) For the purposes of this study the term "printer" or "stationer" will be used to cover anyone who was engaged in producing, importing or selling books. The precise functions of the various members of the book trade were ill defined at this period, and enterprising bookmen would turn their hands to a variety of jobs.

(2) J.Fines 'Heresy Trials in the Diocese of Coventry and Lichfield 1511-12,' in J.E.H. Vol.14, pt.2, (1963) p.160.

(3) Foxe, Vol.1V, p.p.221-241 gives an account of Lollard literature.

(4) Foxe, Vol.1V, p.635.

read at both Oxford and Cambridge when the Pope issued his ban on all of Luther's works. The reaction of the ecclesiastical authorities was swift and efficient. (3)

The fact that Wolsey's commission fetched in enough heretical books to warrant several book burnings indicates the quantity of Lutheran books being imported into the country. With such a long coastline and such a limited bureaucracy it was well nigh impossible to prevent their entry. From dozens of east coast ports, ships plied to and from the Low Countries and Hansa cities carrying a variety of cargoes which were not normally inspected. Tunstall's letter to Cromwell complaining about the import of the book Hortulus Animae suggests a search of Newcastle and Hull as an extraordinary measure, which necessitated a letter either from Cromwell or from the King himself. (1) Even in London, where the searching of cargoes was common, it was no easy matter to prevent the import of forbidden books. The anticlericalism common to most Londoners was strong among merchants and seamen, and hampered the church authorities in their pursuit of book smugglers. Once in the country, the books could be circulated along the old Lollard networks, and for some time the two literatures intermingled. The visitation of 1527 pulled in, along with a number of Lutheran books, several old Lollard manuscripts, such as an English Apocalypse, the Evangelij of Matthew and The Bayly. (2)

But although Lollard literature was used by the English protestants to provide a native ancestry for the new continental heresies, and although Lollard works continued to appear in print for several decades, the old texts were soon outnumbered by quantities of Lutheran tracts

(1) Strype, Eccl. Mem., Vol.1, part 11, p.274.

(2) Strype, E.M., Vol.1, part 1, pp 114-124. For an account of Wicliffite texts printed in the 1530s, see M.Aston, 'Lollardy and the Reformation' in History, Vol. XLIX, (1964) p.149.

(3) See above, p.67.

printed abroad but disseminated by English booksellers against this Lollard background. One example of the scale on which these works were being printed is William Roy's Burial of the Mass, otherwise known as Rede me and be nott wrothe. Two editions, both of 1000 copies, were printed by Schœtt in Strasburg in 1528, and yet another edition appeared in 1531. For reformers like Roy and Tyndale, the printing press was a potent weapon in the battle for the gospel, and the vigour with which they used that weapon was a measure of their missionary zeal.

Finding that Wolsey's action in 1521 had failed to stem the tide of heretical books Tunstall summoned the printers and warned them against dealing in such works. (1) But the following year, 1525, Tyndale's translation of the New Testament appeared in print, and it seems that Tyndale himself immediately set out for England to disperse his first edition. In December 1525 Edward Lee sent word to the King from Bordeaux.

" Please it your highness moreover to understand that I am certainly informed as I passed in this country, that an Englishman, your subject, at the solicitation and instance of Luther, with whom he is, hath translated the New Testament into English, and within four days intendeth to arrive with the same imprinted into England. I need not to advertise your grace what infection and danger may ensue hereby if it be not withstood." (2)

Tyndale's patron in London was the wealthy draper Humphrey Monmouth. Monmouth had been Tyndale's host for a while when he was in London, and had continued to supply him with funds when he left for the continent. He also used his considerable wealth to promote the translation and printing of Lutheran works for the English market. It may be that Monmouth's business connections in Suffolk played some part in the import of these books, once printed. (3) But Monmouth was not the only London merchant committed to the enterprise of the English Bible. In fact it could be considered a mercantile venture, for not only the funds but also the initiative for much of the printing work came from the London merchants. Apart from Monmouth, Maxwell and Stacey of the Tilers and Bricklayers Company were involved, visiting

(1) For details of Tunstall's action see Ch.1, p. 67.

(2) J.L. Douthett - Weir, 'Tyndale's The obedyance of a Chrysten man' in The Library, 5th series, Vol.XXX, (1975) p.95. For early English Bibles see A.S.Herbert, A Historical Catalogue of Printed Editions of the English Bible 1525 - 1961, (1968.)

(3) Foxe, Vol. 1V, pp 617 - 619.

the exiles each year and presumably taking with them material as well as spiritual comfort. Stacey provided a link with the old Lollard circles, for he kept in his house in Coleman Street a scribe who was busy writing out the Apocalypse in English, the expenses being met by another Coleman Street heretic, the grocer, John Sarcot. Another grocer, John Petit, was also apparently involved in the import of Lutheran testaments. (1)

The merchants were in a particularly good position to organise a smuggling enterprise of this sort. Their trade was primarily through Antwerp, which was the main embarkation point for both passengers and baggage travelling to or from the Low Countries. At Antwerp several hundred Englishmen carried on the trade of their homeland in conditions of considerable freedom. These merchants of the English house at Antwerp took over the role of patrons to the English translators when they were forced to leave the protection of the London merchants. Antwerp was also a centre for printing, with long standing links with the London book trade, many of the London stationers having learnt their trade from Dutch craftsmen. Quantities of Lutheran literature were printed there, and books acquired at the great continental fairs and intended for England were normally shipped through Antwerp. The bulk of English trade to the Low Countries was in cloth, and fardels of cloth provided excellent cover for illegal pamphlets, transported unbound and in sheets.

In London another channel for illegal literature existed in the Steelyard in Thames Street. Here, in conditions which mirrored those of the English House in Antwerp, merchants of the Hansa towns enjoyed considerable privileges and some exemption from ecclesiastical surveillance. Several of these merchants were sympathetic to the cause of reform, and some, like Hans Collenbeke, were willing to carry messages from the English merchants to the exiles abroad. Collenbeke took £10 to Tyndale on behalf of Humphrey Monmouth. Merchants from the Hansa cities also had extensive contacts with the sea coast towns of Norfolk, and these areas soon became infiltrated with Lutheran sympathisers and Lutheran literature. Bishop Nix commented that while his diocese was generally not greatly infected with heresy, this could not be said of "the merchants and those who live near the sea." He complained that he had done what he could to suppress these books,

(1) For details of the early London Lutherans, see Strype, E.M., Vol. 1, p.114-126. A useful summary is given in A. G. Dickens, The English Reformation, (1964) pp. 28/9.

but that the task passed his power, or that of any spiritual man. (1)
Seamen of Hull, who did a large part of their trade with Danzig and other northern ports, were in possession of English Testaments by 1527.

The wealth of these merchants, and the privileges and freedoms which they enjoyed, greatly aggravated the difficulties faced by the ecclesiastical authorities in preventing the spread of heretical books. In 1526 Tunstall turned his attention to the Steelyard and tried to impress upon the radical merchants there that they were not beyond the reach of ecclesiastical jurisdiction. Investigations were carried on into their involvement with heretical books, and two of them were forced to bear faggots, in company with Robert Barnes. Officially, their offence had been eating flesh on Fridays. A German version of the prohibition on Lutheran books was issued for the benefit of the Steelyard merchants. (2)

Meanwhile, a counter-offensive to the Lutheran propaganda was beginning to get under way. The first to enter the lists in defence of Mother Church was the King himself, with his famous work, Assertio septem sacramentorum adversus M. Lutherū, which was printed by Pynson in 1521. In the same year Fisher's sermon against Luther was printed in two editions by Wynkyn de Worde. Further editions of Henry's book appeared throughout the decade, and he and Fisher remained the main controversialists for the Catholic cause until More entered the fray in 1529. Until then no attempt was made to produce a popular propaganda that would address the readers of Tyndale and Roy. But at least a start had been made on answering the protestant press with a Catholic polemic.

Tunstall's declaration against Tyndale's New Testament was followed by a visitation of the London diocese, which uncovered the Coleman Street group of Luthero-Lollards and gathered in a motley collection of literature, both printed and manuscript. It also produced the first important success for the authorities in getting to grips with the trade in prohibited books. A Dutchman who had been dealing in bulk in English New Testaments and other prohibited books, in particular Oeconomica Christiana and Unio Dissidentium was

(1) L. & P., Vol. IV, part III, p.2867.

(2) Den wirdigen heren Burgemeysteren der Stat Coelln, (London, 1526.)

apprehended and sent to the Fleet. From him the trail led to Robert Necton and a whole chain of revelations. Necton confessed that he had been drawn into the trade by George Constantine, who had put him in touch with Mr. Fish of White Friars, London. This was Simon Fish, author of the Supplication of the Beggars, who had become connected with Tyndale after arousing Wolsey's anger, and taking refuge on the Continent. (1) Fish was the main agent for importing books from "one Harmond, an English man being beyond sea." Presumably this was the merchant of the English house at Antwerp. From Mr. Fish, Necton had bought New Testaments in lots of five, ten, twenty or thirty, and also copies of the other two banned books which he had subsequently sold in Suffolk. (2) It appears that Necton had graduated to Lutheranism from Lollardy, for though he denied having Wycliff's Wicket or the Apocalypse, he admitted that he had previously owned the chapters of Matthew.

The Dutchman in the Fleet seems not to have been part of the Harmond/Fish/Necton organisation, for when he offered to sell New Testaments to Necton in gross, Necton had referred to matter to Fish. It has to be remembered that while most of those involved in book smuggling were motivated by missionary enthusiasm, it was also a field in which a considerable amount of money could be made by the unscrupulous. The price of a New Testament varied widely at this time. The Dutchman was asking £16.5s. for 300 Testaments, or 11d. the piece, but Necton was selling them for 2s.4d. or 2s.8d. Possibly he had them bound before dispersing them, or possibly the difference in price was accounted for by free gifts of copies to those who could not afford to pay. Barnes charged 3s. for two Testaments when John Tyball and Thomas Hilles visited him in 1527, which was very reasonable, though these copies were probably unbound. (3) John Pykas had paid 4s. for his copy, bought in Colchester in 1526. (4) *Considering the* difficulties and dangers of dispersal, a wide variation in price was inevitable, and the public was so eager to buy that it would pay pretty well any price, several purchasers clubbing together to find the money if necessary. This combination of factors, and the secrecy which necessarily surrounded all transactions, made it the

(1) D N B Simon Fish.

(2) Necton was probably an East Anglian; a Thomas Necton was Sheriff of Norwich and a sympathiser of Bilney's. Foxe, Vol. IV, p.652.

(3) B. M., Harl. MS. 421 f.35r.

(4) Strype, E. M., Vol. 1., part 1, 121.

perfect field for unscrupulous operators and it seems likely that the George Constantine mentioned by Necton may have been one such. Decades later he was accused by Bishop Ferrars of "covetously engrossing" a large number of copies of the Paraphrases which had been intended for sale to the clergy of Ferrar's diocese of St. David's. He certainly played a very questionable part in the Lutheran book trade. (1)

The enquiries into the activities of Necton led the authorities on to Geoffrey Usher, servant of Farman who was parson of Honeylane, and a notable preacher. Usher had sold a number of prohibited books to Necton for 40s., and investigation into his activities linked up via Farman with the enquiries being made concerning Thomas Garrett. (2) John Goodale, another of Farman's servants, admitted despatching "two Fardells" to Oxford by the carrier on behalf of Garrett. He said he did not know what was in them, but they were very heavy. Garrett was eventually charged with buying, selling, giving, dispensing, reading and expounding heretical books, and with knowing certain religious persons that privily printed English books, and some that so intended to print such books.

Tunstall's investigations into Garrett's mission led him to another Dutchman from Antwerp called Theodoryke, who during the years 1527/8 made two trips to England with shipments of heretical books such as Deconomica Christiana and Precautiones Piae. (3) Despite Tunstall's prohibition of these books, the Dutchman had proceeded to sell them secretly, along with large numbers of New Testaments "of the little volume." He had been very discreet about whom he sold them to, not disclosing his business until the would-be buyer had declared himself. Nevertheless, large numbers of these illegal books had come into Tunstall's hands. Other books imported by Garrett were found at Radley's house and at a bookbinder's office. Jeffrey was charged with the same offences as Garrett.

The enquiries now moved on to the activities of John Raimund, Dutchman, who was arrested and charged with causing fifteen hundred of Tyndale's Testaments, that is, one complete edition, to be printed in Antwerp, and bringing 500 of them into England. Humphrey Monmouth's house was searched by Sir Thomas More, accompanied by Sir William Kingston, looking for letters to the heretics abroad and for heretical books. Monmouth was sent to the Tower. This was an important arrest

(1) Foxe, Vol. VII, p.15. See below p.96.

(2) For papers concerning the activities of Garrett, see Foxe, Vol. V, Appendix VI.

(3) There may have been some link between this Dutchman and the man dealing with Necton.

for he was a key figure in the organisation and financing of the smuggling trade, sponsoring among other books, the translation, production and dissemination of Luther's De Libertate Christiana, and Exposition upon the Pater Noster, the Introduction to Paul's Epistle to the Romans, the works of Lambert, and "certain detestable books late printed beyond the sea in English against the sacrament and all other observances of holy church." If these activities were, as the articles against him claimed, "true, notorious, public and famous, and upon them reyneth the common voice and fame among good sad and discreet persons within the city of London, and within other places", it is remarkable that Monmouth got off so lightly. (1) Apart from a loss of business credit of which he complained, he suffered only temporary imprisonment and lived a highly respected citizen until 1537, when his munificent and very Protestant will was published by John Gough for the edification of the city. Evidently the government's dependence on the financial support of leading citizens offered considerable protection from church harrassment to such wealthy men as Monmouth. (2)

This series of investigations and arrests resulted in the confiscation and destruction of large numbers of Lutheran tracts and Testaments. As Duff has pointed out, the low survival rate of early Testaments, when seen against the quantities that were being produced, suggests that the church could claim considerable success in keeping such literature off the streets. (3) And not only the handling and selling of forbidden works was dangerous, even reading them, or listening to them being read, was a risky business. As Strype said of Tyndale's Obedience of a Christian man, "the very having this book.. ..was enough to make a man a heretic, and reading of it a dangerous article against any in these days." (4) But the success of the campaign had its repercussions, for it drove increasing numbers of English protestants abroad to safe havens on the continent, whence they could fire their salvos against the English hierarchy in comparative safety. George Joye, for example, driven abroad by a secret accusation laid against him by John Ashwell, Prior of Newnham, settled at Strasburg, and began his career as one of the major

(1) For the investigation and charges relating to Monmouth, see Strype, E. M., Vol. 1., part 1., pp 487-493.

(2) For the activities of the early book smugglers see M. Aston, 'Lollardy and the Reformation', in History, Vol. XLIX. (1964) p.149., and J.F.Davis, 'Heresy and Reformation in South East England 1520-1559'. Unpublished D.Phil.thesis, Oxford, 1968.

(3) Duff, Century, p.xxi.

(4) Strype, E. M., Vol. 1, part 1, p.173.

combatants in the pamphlet war with his public refutation of Ashwell's complaint. (1) It was the existence of this large, vocal and missionary minded body of exiles which sustained the protestant propaganda war under both Henry and Mary.

By now the bishops were battling against an ever growing variety and range of titles and pamphlets. As More wrote in 1532, "the bare names of these books were almost enough to make a book, and of every sort of those books be some brought into this realm and kept in huter muer by some shrewd masters that keep them for no good." (2)

A new Index was listed by the bishops in 1529 and also attached to the proclamation which they obtained from the King. (3) Fifteen days were given for the handing in of all prohibited books, and a warning added that the laws made for the punishment of heretical activities, including book dealing, would be applied. In 1530, as we have seen, the King seized the initiative from the clergy and appointed the Privy Council as the final authority in matters of censorship. But the efforts of the bishops continued unabated.

It must have seemed to the church authorities that they were dealing with a Hydra. On one occasion, Tunstall and Wareham purchased a whole consignment of New Testaments in order to prevent them from being dispersed. This had the effect of keeping them off the streets for the time being, but only until the money acquired from the purchase could be utilised paying for further editions, which soon came flooding into London. In 1529 Thomas Hilton was apprehended and charged with bringing into England two English New Testaments and an English Primer. He refused to say who the New Testaments were for, and was burned at Maidstone. But, despite the Testaments, Hilton does not appear to have been a colporteur. He was described as "an Apostle sent to and fro between our English heretics beyond the sea, and such as were here at home," and it appears that his role was mainly that of a messenger.

But the authorities were more successful in 1531 when they apprehended Richard Bayfield. Bayfield had been a patron and supplier of Tyndale and Frith and had sold their works, together with books by the German reformers, in France and England. He had made three book smuggling trips from the continent to England, each time entering the

(1) The letters whyche Johan Ashwell, Priour of Newnham Abbey besydes Bedforde, sente secretly to the Byshope of Lyncolne in the yeare of our Lord MDXXVII, (Strasbourg, 1527.)

(2) Foxe, Vol. V, p.815.

(3) See Chap. 1, p.68.

country at a different point. The first cargo was landed at Colchester and then conveyed overland to London, the second brought straight into London to St Catherine's, and the third landed somewhere in Norfolk and then got into London. His condemnation contained a long list of forbidden books which he had handled, and his execution was preceded by a sermon at St. Paul's cross in which the names of thirty forbidden books were detailed. (1)

Like Necton, Bayfield was betrayed to the authorities by George Constantine, who seems at this time to have been acting as an agent provocateur. He was a friend of Thomas More's, and Foxe tells us that he disclosed to More "how these books, which he himself and other his fellows had brought and shipped, might come to the bishop's hands to be burned, and showed to....More... the shipman's name that had them, and the marks of the fardels, by which the books afterwards were taken and burned." (2) He also appears to have been involved in the transaction mentioned above by which the bishops bought a complete edition of the New Testament. Possibly he was acting as a double agent, or possibly the passing of large sums of money gives a sufficient explanation of his role.

Others drawn into the bishops' net by the investigations of 1531 were Thomas Lancaster, a priest who was sent to the Compter in the Poultry for importing prohibited books, (3) and W. Nelson, another priest, who had bought such books from one Perriman. A boy of Colchester, who had bought a budget of books from Bayfield, presumably from the cargo that was landed there, was picked up, and yet another native of Antwerp, a certain Christopher, was found to have been selling New Testaments to the French bookbinder, John Row. (4)

The main drive of the bishops' campaign was directed towards preventing Lutheran books from getting into circulation, but there were inevitably some which escaped their vigilance and reached the general public. Rigorous penalties were therefore visited upon anyone found in possession of such literature, and Foxe's pages are full of cases like those of Hewet, a serving man, who was prosecuted for reading the New Testament and Frith on Purgatory, or Walter Fry, another servant, in trouble for keeping an English Testament, the Sum of Scripture, a Primer and a Psalter in English hidden in a bed straw. (5)

(1) Foxe, Vol. IV, p.685.

(2) Foxe, Vol. IV, p.671.

(3) Foxe, Vol. IV, p.586.

(4) Foxe, Vol. V, p. 37.

(5) Foxe, Vol. V, p. 38.

Dr. Farman himself, who seems to have been cleared of involvement in the importing trade, was nevertheless suspended for keeping and reading the works of Luther. (1)

The campaign which the church authorities waged against heretical books in 1531 was accompanied by new efforts in the field of propaganda. Thomas More, who figured largely in the prosecution of Lutheran book dealers, was also being encouraged by Tunstall and other conservatives, to put his great literary talents to use in replying to the Lutherans in the vernacular. (2) In 1530 he published two English pamphlets, A dyaloge of the veneration of ymagys, and The supplycacyon of Soules; agaynst the supplycacyon of beggars. These were both printed by W. Rastell, and seemed to herald a truly popular propaganda offensive on the part of the church. By this time, John Eck's Enchiridion Adversus Lutheranos was circulating widely throughout the country, and another vernacular tract of apologetics appeared in 1531. This was William Barlow's A dyaloge descrybyng the orygynal ground of these Lutheran faccyons, and Bishop Stokesley immediately ordered it to be read from the pulpit throughout his diocese. (3)

In fact, in the years 1530-1531, the church was active against protestant polemic on a wider front, and with great vigour, than was to be seen again for many decades. Apart from enlisting More as his champion and proceeding against the dealers in heretical books, Stokesley decided to make an example of the merchants who were still funding the efforts of the exiles. He imprisoned Tyndale's merchant brother, John, together with John and Thomas Patmore, drapers, and an unknown young man who lived by London Bridge. They were charged with "the receiving of Tyndale's Testaments and divers other books, and delivering and scattering the same abroad in divers parts of the City of London." (4) At the same time More moved against John Petit, grocer and M.P. and, discovering an English Testament on him, had him imprisoned. Petit was eventually released but died of the effects of his imprisonment. Also prosecuted at the same time was Bayfield's wealthy friend and host, William Smith. Having apprehended these merchants, the bishop was determined to put them to the kind of open penance that could seriously damage their trade and would serve as a

(1) Strype, E. M., Vol. 1., part 1., p.124.

(2) Foxe, Vol.1V., p.697.

(3) W. T. Davies 'Bibliography of John Bale', in Oxford Bibliographical Society, Proceedings and Papers, Vol. V., (1940), p.203.

(4) Foxe, Vol. V, App. p.804 note to p. 34.

graphic example to others of the kind of behaviour that they were to avoid. A great fire was made at the Standard in Cheap, and the Pat-mores, John Tyndale, the young man from London Bridge, and probably also Thomas Summers, another wealthy merchant, (1) having ridden through London facing the horse's tail, with papers on their heads and their clothes hung with New Testaments and other books, were required to throw their books on to the fire in the sight of all the people. Public penances of this kind were particularly popular with the church because by them the dangers of illegal book trading could be brought home to the largest possible number of people. Unfortunately, the protestants were not slow to realise the propaganda value of such spectacles themselves, and the audience at Cheap witnessed not only the humiliation of the merchants, but also the obstinate efforts of Thomas Summers to save his New Testament from the fire. At about the same time, the execution of the heretic Stile, at which his copy of the Apocalypse was nailed to the stake with him, gave warning of heroic martyrdoms to come when Stile lifted up his voice and proclaimed "O blessed Apocalypse, how happy am I that shall be burned with thee!"(2) This campaign of the bishops against the trade in heretical books was concentrated largely on preventing the financing and import of such works, areas in which London stationers were not generally involved. Nevertheless, several stationers were implicated in the investigations and it seems that even at this early date, there was a strong reforming element among the printers.

One of the first to become involved was John Rastell. Rastell had links with Lollardy and John himself became a fervent protestant at an early date. In 1527, when Tyndale was in London, he used Rastell's press to print the first edition of his Wicked Mammon, together with the Obedience of a Christian Man. When pressure from the ecclesiastical authorities became too heavy, Tyndale took the production to Antwerp, where it was completed by Johannes Hoechstraten. For further protection the imprimatur "Hans Luft of Marlborough" was invented, and remained a popular cover for Antwerp printers working for the English protestant

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- (1) Foxe describes his penance which was identical to that of the other merchants, but he gives no date. Foxe, Vol. V. p.452. The author of another London Chronicle describes the penance, and lists "Thomas Somar, John Pursar, Tyndall, and a prentice on London bridge" as the merchants punished. Two London Chronicles. ed. Charles Kingsford, Camden Miscellany, 3rd. Series, Vol. XIII, 1910, p.5. According to this chronicler, Paytmer, a glasier, bore a faggot.
- (2) Foxe, Vol. V, p.655.

market. Restell does not appear to have suffered for his involvement, so presumably the authorities were fooled and his efforts remained a secret. (1)

The printer who was most frequently in trouble with the church was Rastell's tenant John Gough. Gough's first brush with authority occurred in 1524, when as Wynkyn de Worde's servant, he and his master were in trouble over an edition of the Ymage of Love. In 1528, two years after he left de Worde, he was questioned in connection with Garrett's activities as a colporteur. Gough stalwartly denied all knowledge of anything, and managed to convince Tunstall that "the said Gough is taken for another man." But in view of Gough's later career it seems likely that Tunstall was deceived. (2)

Robert Redman also ventured into a Lollard Publication, issuing c1530 The Lanterne of Lyght. But since this carried his full imprint it seems more likely that it appeared after the relaxation of 1532, rather than in the dangerous year of 1530 as has been suggested. (3) Redman had the reputation that he would print anything for money and it seems unlikely that he would have courted disaster in this way.

On the other hand, the protestant sympathies of Michael Lobley were well known. In 1531, he ran into trouble with the Bishop, being accused that he, being at Antwerp, bought certain books inhibited, as The Revelation of Antichrist, The Obedience of Christian Man, The Wicked Mammon and Frith against Purgatory. He was accused also with saying that Bilney had died a good man "because of a bill that one did send from Norwich, that specified that he took his death so patiently and did not forsake to die with a good will." (4) The bill was probably sent with an eye to getting it printed, but Lobley was not accused of committing it to print. In the event he was forced to abjure for having an English Bible. Lobley had acquired his illegal books at Antwerp, and the links between the London stationers and the printing community at Antwerp remained close even after it ceased to be a safe haven. Many of the London booksellers acquired their maps, and other technically advanced works there, either visiting the city themselves or using continental printing houses like the Birckman family of Antwerp and Cologne, who kept a permanent agent in London : London

(1) J.L.Douthit - Wier, op. cit. on p. 89.

(2) L. & P. Vol.IV, part 2, p.1805. Printed in full in Foxe, Vol.V,

(3) M.Aston, op.cit.

App.VI

(4) Foxe, Vol.V. P.818.

stationers with a taste for protestant polemic thus had easy access to the main source of such literature.

Another stationer who was evidently an ardent protestant and was troubled more than once for his religious activities was the Cambridge bookseller Sygar Nicholson. In 1528 he was prosecuted for importing Lutheran books, and was again arrested in 1531 as a result of the Bayfield investigations. He was charged with dealing in Frith against Purgatory among other illegal works. (1) Nicholson remained a committed member of the reforming community, and figured as a friend of the martyrs in the reign of Mary. (2)

Also apparently willing to deal in heretical books was the elusive Nicholas, bookseller in St. Paul's Churchyard, from whom Dalaber acquired a copy of Farragines Lamberti. The only Nicholas who can be traced to Paul's churchyard at this time is Nicholas Sutton, but nothing is known of him. (3) Even more elusive were the bookbinders involved in the illegal traffic. Most of the imported books came in unbound, but many were bound before dispersal. The binders engaged in this work are largely anonymous but we know the name of at least one; John Row a French bookbinder was troubled in 1531 for binding, buying and dispersing illegal books, probably the New Testaments which he had bought from the Dutchman, Christopher. Here again the Dutch connection was important, for many London bookbinders at this time, and indeed for some decades, were foreign, mostly French, but also numbers of them Dutch. At least two more binders were implicated by the heresy proceedings of 1528-31, though their names are not known. The books found by the Garrett investigators were uncovered at Radley's house, and at a bookbinder's office. Three years later Bayfield was arrested while going from Master Smith's house in Bucklersbury to his bookbinder's in Mark Lane.

Apart from these stationers and bookbinders who were definitely engaged in illegal activities, several members of the London book trade ran into trouble with the ecclesiastical authorities. Thomas Berthelet, later King's printer, and normally a cautious man, was prosecuted in 1526 for publishing books without first having them approved by the church censors. The following year Robert Wyer appeared before the

(1) Foxe, Vol.V, p.38.

(2) N of R, p.204.

(3) Duff, Century, p.110.

Vicer General for printing Symbolum Apostolicum which was said to contain many errors, and to have been printed without inspection.

If we include these last two printers, this makes a total of eleven stationers who were implicated to a greater or lesser extent in the investigations into heretical books. And yet it appears that no serious harm came to any of them. Bearing in mind the harsh execution carried out on Hilton, Bayfield and Necton, this relative immunity of the printing community is remarkable, and appears to reflect the view that printers and bookbinders were craftsmen first and foremost and could not be held responsible for the content of the books on which they practised their craft. This was the responsibility of the author, and the publisher, and all vengeance was visited upon them. This attitude remained general throughout our period, and accounts in large part for the fact that no printers suffered the penalties of heretical pravity laid down in Wolsey's Commission of 1521 and in the Statute of 1401 for dealers in heretical books.

On the other hand, the fact that so many printers were detected in the act of trading in heretical works suggests that the surveillance of the book trade by the church authorities was quite efficient. Only Rastell seems to have escaped detection. Clearly in 1531 the church was fighting gallantly for the maintainance of doctrinal *purity*, even if it was fighting against mounting odds. And yet within a year or two the campaign against heretical literature had ground almost to a halt. There appear to have been two main factors at work causing the change. In the first place, in 1530 the King issued his proclamation challenging the church's claim to be final authority in matters of heresy and heretical books.(1) In taking this action the King was not moved by anxiety for the maintainance of orthodoxy, nor on the other hand was he ushering in an era of free expression. His concern was that the board of censors as it existed under ecclesiastical jurisdiction would incline towards Catherine's side in the question of the Divorce and would not pursue the writers and distributors of books in her defence with sufficient fervour. As that board, as constituted in 1524, consisted of Tunstall, Wareham, the now-disgraced Wolsey, and Fisher, who had just launched into print on Catherine's behalf, Henry's distrust of them would seem to have been well founded.

A change in control from ecclesiastical to secular jurisdiction

(1) See Ch.1. p70.

was not necessarily a move in the direction of protestantism, nor did it in itself open the gates to heretical literature. Henry was no supporter of heresy. On the contrary, he was a renowned defender of the faith. But the political events of the next few years not only rendered a strict orthodoxy less attractive, but also produced a change in personnel which profoundly affected the London book trade. The first to go was Wolsey, disgraced in 1529. This was of no great concern to the stationers, for he had not distinguished himself as a heresy hunter. But in the same year, Fisher found himself at odds with both the King and Parliament over anticlerical legislation.

The publication of his book De Causa Matrimonii serenissimi Regis Angliae, Alcalá, 1530, followed as it was by a trumped up charge of praemunire, completed his fall from favour and influence.(1) Fisher had been one of the small but powerful group which had led the fight against heresy in the 20s, and his eclipse was an important loss to the conservative cause. Even more serious from the point of view of London was the translation of Tunstall from London to Durham in 1530. Tunstall's conservatism was soon to place him in a difficult position with the King, but there is no reason to think that if he had remained at London he would not have continued to oppose the dissemination of Lutheran literature with the same vigour that he had shown in the 20s. Of the four censors originally named, only Wareham was now left, and he died in August 1532.

Perhaps of equal importance in the slackening of pressure on the illegal book traders was the retirement of Thomas More in May 1532. More's position had been uncomfortable for some time, but this final retreat from public life removed from the London scene the most able of the Catholic controversialists and the most vigorous of its persecutors.

The vacuum left by these leading figures was filled by men and women whose doctrinal position was widely at variance with that of their predecessors. Stokesley began his term as bishop with a vigorous burst of persecution, and Bonner later told Grafton that it was Stokesley who was to blame for "vexing and troubling of poor men, as Lobleigh the book-binder, for having the Scripture in English." (2) But with the takeover of control by the King in 1530 he had not the authority to pursue and harry the Lutheran colporteurs as his predecessor had done. With the submission of the clergy in 1532, his demoralisation seems to have been

(1) J. J. Scarisbrick, Henry VIII, (1971) p.330 and 358.

(2) Foxe, Vol. V., p.412.

complete, and his campaign against heretical books subsided.

In the place of Wolsey, Wareham and More, there emerged Cromwell and Cranmer, two men who were both committed to the campaign for a vernacular Bible, and who seemed to have convinced the King of its desirability. It was this change in the King's attitude to the English Bible that most affected the book trade. Had Henry been set against vernacular scriptures, the State take-over of censorship would have made little difference to the book dealers. As it was, the years 1532 - 38/40 formed a period of comparative freedom for printers and stationers. Henry had distinguished himself as an opponent of Luther but his attitude towards the vernacular Bible seems never to have been violently hostile. It was the bishops, accustomed to doing battle against Lollard literature, who led the drive against English Testaments. By 1530 Henry was sufficiently sympathetic to promise that once the people had abandoned all erroneous translations, an official version would be produced. (1) Once again, this was not in itself a concession towards the Reformation. Catholic translations had been produced in other parts of the Continent, and in England Gardiner continued for some years to press for an orthodox and preferably incomprehensible version. But the traditions of Lollardy, and the violently protestant tone of the first English translations, had linked the idea of an English Bible strongly with that of a protestant interpretation. By mentioning the possibility of such a translation, Henry was thus dropping a broad hint to the Pope that English orthodoxy was not unassailable.

To allow an English Bible to appear would also be a significant move in Henry's campaign to reduce the power and influence of the clergy. Vernacular scriptures gave to every layman the possibility of discovering the facts of his faith for himself, undermining the role of the church as instructor and intermediary between God and man. They had also been the main target of ecclesiastical censorship and prosecution for decades, so that for the King to intervene now and permit what the church had been fighting to prevent would seriously demoralise and confuse the ecclesiastical authorities. But more pressing than the need to appease anticlericalism, or humiliate the clergy, was the question of authority. Scarisbrick has shown that by 1530 Henry was definitely contemplating the possibility of a split with the Holy See. (2) In such an event the question of final

(1) Proclamation Prohibiting Erroneous Books, June 1530.
Hughes and Larkin, Vol. 1. p.193, no. 129.

(2) J. Scarisbrick, op. cit., p.384.

authority in matters of faith would have to be addressed. The only adequate alternative to the Pope as final arbiter, was the Scripture, though the question of who should interpret it remained a difficulty. Henry's solution appears to have been that instead of the Pope he would take as his final arbiter the Bible interpreted by himself in the role of Supreme Head. Such an alternative rendered an authorised English translation of the Bible both necessary and desirable.

It was also becoming clear to Henry that the Bible was a very useful source of monarchical sentiments. Tyndale's book The Obedience of a Christian Man, which was shown to Henry by Anne Boleyn, so well expressed Henry's views that it seemed for a time that Tyndale might be taken into royal employ. Latimer, complaining of the confiscation of scriptural works in 1530, insisted that such books would never have incited their readers to break the law, but on the contrary, would restrain all law breakers. (1) This was also the view that the King was hearing from his most influential servants, Thomas Cranmer and Thomas Cromwell, and it appears that sometime in the early thirties he himself became convinced that a wider knowledge of the Scriptures among his subjects would encourage an attitude of religious obedience to the powers that be, and especially to himself. As the Proclamation appointing Cromwell to approve new translations of the Bible put it, "We let you wit that being desirous to have our people at all times convenient give themselves to the attaining the knowledge of God's word, whereby they will the better honour him and observe and keep his commandments and also do their duties the better to us, being their prince and sovereign lord..." (2) That these were the King's own views is demonstrated by the fact that in 1541, after Cromwell's fall and at a time of general reaction, a Proclamation was issued ordering the Great Bible to be placed in every church to move people to love God, "but also to learn thereby to observe God's commandments and to obey their sovereign lord and high powers." (3)

Cranmer's known support for the English Bible must have been of some influence with the King. But the chief mover in the campaign for vernacular scriptures was undoubtedly Thomas Cromwell. (4) Cromwell seems to have been a strong believer in the view that an English Bible would encourage obedience to the King. But his

(1) Foxe, Vol. VII, p.510.

(2) Procl. 14 Nov.1539. Hughes and Larkin, Vol.1. p.286, no.192.

(3) Procl. 6 May 1541. Hughes and Larkin, Vol.1. p.296, no.200.

(4) For Cromwell's responsibility (104) for the Vernacular Bible, see G. R. Elton, Reform and Reformation (1977) pp. 274-278.

enthusiasm for a translation probably had more radical motives than those which he admitted to his monarch. (1) As early as 1527 Cromwell was receiving letters from Coverdale about his work of translation, and the energy, enthusiasm, and indeed, money which he expended on the production of Bibles in the thirties suggests that he considered the bringing of the Scriptures to the English people as something of a personal mission. As Cranmer wrote in an enthusiastic letter about the Matthew Bible in August 1537, " ... if you continue to take such pains for the setting forth of God's word as you do, although in the mean season you suffer some snub and many slanders, lies and reproaches for the same, yet one day He will requite you altogether." Foxe was later to write of his "flagrant zeal to set forward the truth of the gospel." (2) Doubtless Cromwell was careful to emphasise to his sovereign those royalist arguments for the Bible which he knew would meet with approval, and they did not include a flagrant zeal for the gospel. Nevertheless the persistence he showed in the cause of the Scriptures suggests a stronger and more personal motive than statesmanship.

Another crucial influence on the King during the years when he was coming round to the idea of an English Bible, was Anne Boleyn. There is little doubt that Anne's religious views were advanced, and that she was not afraid of opening them to the King. (3) In particular, she and her family seem to have been enthusiastic for the English Bible. The dying speech of her brother Lord Rochford suggests both devotion to the Scriptures and work done by him in the past to further its dissemination.

"I desire you to help to the setting forth of the true Word of God; and whereas I am slandered by it, I have been diligent to observe it and set it forth truly, but if I had been as diligent to observe it, and done and lived thereafter as I was to read it and set it forth, I had not come hereto, wherefore I beseech you all to be workers and live thereafter." (4)

If the takeover of the task of censorship by the King did not necessarily imply a liberalisation of the press, the espousal of the English Bible did inevitably lead to some relaxation. So many of the

(1) For an account of Cromwell's activities on behalf of the English Bible, see ch.VII in A.G.Dickens, Thomas Cromwell and the English Reformation, (1959.)

(2) Foxe, Vol.V, p.403.

(3) See below p.106.

(4) Wriothesley, Vol.1, p.40. For a complete account of the political background, see J.R.(105) Elton, *op.cit.*

Forbidden books were commentaries or meditations upon portions of the Scriptures that a strict enforcement of the index was not in keeping with a policy of Bible promotion. Certainly, Henry continued to persecute heretics, and especially Anabaptists. In 1533 John Frith was burned, as were fourteen Anabaptists. But in the same year the statute 2 Henry IV, cap 15, which placed possessors of heretical literature under threat of the fire, was repealed. With Henry in control of the press, he could vary the severity of censorship to suit diplomatic pressures abroad or anticlerical sentiments in Parliament and the city. While Cromwell was in power this flexibility operated in favour of the protestant press. After his fall, protestant books were generally repressed, but the King's support for the English Bible never wavered.

The printing community clearly benefited from this liberalisation and from the adoption by the King of the vernacular scriptures. But Anne Boleyn, Cranmer and Cromwell were also of more direct assistance to the printers, all three of them being active patrons of the press. Anne had been in receipt of heretical books even at the height of episcopal activity. The account in Foxe of how Fish sent his Supplication of Beggars to her, and how it reached the King is familiar enough. But she seems to have been more actively involved in the protestant printing trade than simply as a receiver of radical tracts.(1) It was she who showed Henry Tyndale's Obedience of a Christian Man, and it must have been partly through her influence that the author came so near to receiving royal approval. When the church authorities rounded up the Fish, Necton, Harmon group, Anne interceded on behalf of Harmon, a wealthy merchant of the English house at Antwerp, who had been expelled for his part in the New Testament trade. When the influential German printer and friend of Cranmer, Reyner Wolf, sought membership of the London Stationers, it was to Anne that he looked, to use her influence on his behalf. Wolf was a friend of many of the leading theologians on the continent and was used by Henry as a courier to the Protestant states. Nevertheless, he was a foreigner, and Anne had some difficulty obtaining his membership for him. She finally succeeded after writing to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen in support of his application.

Of even greater value to the printing trade than Anne's patronage was the protection of Cromwell. Cromwell's very close links with the

(1) Foxe, Vol.IV, p.657. Add.MS.43827 A in the BM describes how a merchant called Anthony Hikeman used to smuggle in Protestant books for his own family and also fetched Anne some French Gospels Epistles and Psalms.

London printing community enabled him to exercise a highly selective form of censorship. His interest in the press seems to have embraced every aspect of the craft, including the technical and financial problems involved in the production of an edition. His enthusiasm for the production of the Great Bible in 1530, for example, included concern that the translation should be accurate and acceptable, that it should be properly composited and corrected, and that it should be printed on the best paper available.

The campaign for the English Bible, and Cromwell's close supervision of, and interest in it, brought him into close contact with most of the wealthier and more influential printers. Indeed, it was this campaign that drew into the printing trade several wealthy merchants who shared Cromwell's commitment. Grafton, Whitchurch and Marler were all influential members of their own companies when they were drawn into the enterprise of the Bible. Whitchurch and Marler remained preoccupied mainly with the financial side of the venture but Grafton soon made himself an expert in the craft of printing. He, Nicholson and Berthelet were in close contact with Cromwell over the licensing, pricing and dispersing of Bibles. Other printers were drawn into Cromwell's influence and employ by the royalist campaign of the thirties, which utilised writers, translators and publishers in the support of Royal Supremacy and the promulgation of the doctrine of obedience. Through this campaign, and the enterprise of the Bible, a large number of stationers and bookmen were virtually in Cromwell's employ between 1532 and 1540.

It is clear also that Cromwell was, as his attainder of 1540 charged, active in the protection of protestant book men who fell foul of the ecclesiastical authorities. He protected, and indeed used, Barnes, Coverdale and even Bale, when they were known to be engaged in the writing and dispersal of protestant polemic. Lesser fry also benefited from his patronage. On one occasion, the wife of a man imprisoned for heresy, took with her to Cromwell's house "an honest woman, the wife of one Michael Loble, who was well acquainted with divers in the Lord Cromwell's house." Loble's wife intervened for her friend, and "it happened that the same time came in Dr. Barnes and Master Barlow who, understanding the matter by Loble's wife, went up to the Lord Cromwell and certified him thereof." (1) Loble's wife had probably made her friends in Cromwell's household during the period when her own husband was being harassed for illegal dealings.

(1) Foxe, Vol. V., p.386.

- So effective was Cromwell's protection that during the years 1532 - 1539 the only stationer troubled for heretical printing was Loble, whose difficulties occurred during a period of reaction in 1538. This was a remarkable contrast to the numbers of bookmen troubled and harrassed by the ecclesiastical authorities in the twenties. The troubled waters into which the book community moved immediately after Cromwell's fall emphasises the amount of protection which he had afforded to protestant printers. In this policy, Cromwell was clearly going well beyond his master's view that vernacular scriptures were to be encouraged, and although ^{Henry} occasionally acted as though he were about to throw in his lot with the protestants, at no time was he prepared to sanction Anabaptist, sacramentary, or indeed any unorthodox literature. Throughout this period the Index remained in force, and the Lutheran writers and colporteurs were never out of danger of arrest by the authorities, and public penance. In 1536, John Rastell applied to Cromwell for help following his imprisonment by the ecclesiastical authorities. Cromwell seems to have been unable to assist him, perhaps because he had become involved in a dispute over the touchy question of tithes. The request by Grafton and Coverdale for special exemption for their collaborator Regnault also seems to have been beyond Cromwell's power to grant. Possibly his choice of Regnault to print the English Bible was intended in some part to compensate him for his losses.

The charges leveled at Cromwell at his fall show how far his policy was in advance of that of either the King or the public at large. We have already seen that he was a keen campaigner for the English Bible, and probably he was also a committed protestant. But the question arises as to whether or not Cromwell's protection of the press sprang to any extent from a personal belief in free expression. Among the fresh and quick wits who found employment in his household was Thomas Starkey, whose pamphlet On the Liberty of Speaking and Writing gave expression to unusually liberal views on the subject. (1) Cromwell was also an enthusiastic reader of Melancthon, whose works he had translated and published. Melancthon's concept of 'adiophora' opened up the possibility of an area in which free debate might be permitted, and both Cranmer and Cromwell seem to have subscribed to this view. (2)

But one subject which was certainly not open for discussion was

(1) For close analysis of Starkey's views see W. Gordon Zeeveld, Foundations of Tudor Policy, (Harvard, 1948.)

(2) See below page 138.

the King. Where the Succession, or the Supremacy, or any matter concerning the dynasty was concerned, no debate at all could be allowed. The penalties for spoken, written or printed dissent were extremely harsh, and Cromwell was untiring in his pursuit of seditious talkers or grumblers. In the field of printed books, he evidently appreciated that the crucial factor in preventing the dissemination of hostile literature was speed. If manuscripts could be confiscated before they reached the press, or failing that, if editions could be rounded up before dispersal, the task of implementing censorship would be greatly facilitated. Good intelligence of the whereabouts of hostile manuscripts was essential to this policy, and here Cromwell was greatly assisted by his close association with the printing community. His own agent, William Marshall, was also able to keep the printing shops under surveillance from his office in Wood Street. The success of these tactics is demonstrated most clearly by the suppression of the literature surrounding Elizabeth Barton. An edition of Bocking's book describing Elizabeth's visions and known as ^{the} Nun's Book was printed by John Scot, but before it could be dispersed, Cromwell seized the whole edition, five hundred copies which had just been delivered to Bocking, and two hundred which were still in Scot's possession. An earlier book about the Nun by Edward Thwaites, A marveillous work of late done at Court of Streete in Kent which had been printed by Robert Redman, was also confiscated. This was more difficult, as the book had been abroad for some time. Nevertheless, hardly a trace of it survives. The Attainder of Elizabeth Barton refers to "sundry books both great and small, both printed and written." (1) If other tracts existed apart from these two, they have also vanished, thanks to the efficiency of Cromwell's censorship. John Scot, who cooperated in the suppression of his work, was not troubled for his activity, another example of the relative immunity of the printer. The author was executed. (2)

The affair of the Nun of Kent caused Cromwell more trouble than any other book matter during his years of office, and several other hostile books were confiscated during the investigation. A book by John Dering called De Duplice Spiritu had to be squashed before it could reach the press, and a search of Fisher's possessions at Sion gathered in Abel's tract Invicta Veritas and a book on the King's divorce by Chapuys. Fisher's works were so numerous, and so widely

(1) 25 Hen. VIII. cap. 12. S. R.

(2) For all this information see E.J. Devereux, "Elizabeth Barton and Tudor Censorship", Bulletin of the John Ryland's Library, Vol. 49., No.1., (1966) p.91.

dispersed that a special Proclamation had to be issued calling them in. (1) But Cromwell was able to prevent More's letters from reaching the press, and Margaret Roper suffered imprisonment for her attempt to get them printed. (2)

Strype also mentions a "saleable letter" written by a Friar Thomas Powell from Paris, beginning "We behold how the King is changed from a Christian to a heretic." (3) This letter has not survived, but it is interesting that according to Wriothesley, the Powel who was executed with Barnes had written a book against the King's Supremacy and supporting the marriage with Catherine. (4)

The speedy and efficient suppression of papalist books which Cromwell carried through in the thirties fulfilled exactly Henry's intentions when he seized control of the press in 1530. The fact that it was achieved with such little hardship to the printers must reflect both Cromwell's sympathetic interest in the press, and the attitude mentioned above that printers were not responsible for the content of the works they printed. Only three stationers were troubled throughout Cromwell's ascendancy. Lobley fell foul of the Bishop in 1538 and Cromwell was unable to render him any assistance. John Redman was bound over in 1534 to observe the King's privileges, and in 1539, Herford was brought to London from St. Albans for investigation. He had been involved in the printing of a seditious book, probably A very declaration of the bond and free will of man, but whatever punishment was visited upon him, he was able to set up a thriving business in London, so he was evidently not ruined. But by 1538, Cromwell was finding it increasingly difficult to protect bookmen, and the savage Act of Six Articles of 1539 marked the beginning of the end of the years of comparative freedom. At the beginning of 1540, John Butler could write to Bullinger from Basle that, according to his information, "Barnes and others were preaching the word powerfully in England" and "books of every kind may be exposed to sale, which fact is so important to my excellent friend Föschauer, that they have thought it right to make him acquainted with it." (5) Within months, Cromwell had fallen from power, Barnes was dead, along

(1) Proc. 1 Jan. 1536. Hughes and Larkin, Vol. 1, p. 235, no. 161.

(2) A. W. Reed, 'The Editor of Sir Thomas More's English Works, William Rastell, In the Library, 4th Series, Vol. 1V, (1923) p. 25.

(3) Strype, E. M., Vol. 1., part 1., p. 246.

(4) Wriothesley, Vol. 1, p. 118.

(5) O. L., Vol. 1., p. 627.

with Garrett, and protestant printers were being harrassed on all sides.

The first printer to come to grief in the wave of reaction that followed Cromwell's fall was Grafton, who had been most closely associated with him in the production of English Bibles.

Foxe describes his difficulties:

"Then Grafton was called and first charged with the printing of Matthew's Bible but he, being very fearful of trouble, made excuses for himself in all things. Then he was examined of the Great Bible, and what notes he was purposed to make; to the which he answered that he knew none. For his purpose was to have retained learned men to have made the notes; but when he perceived the king's majesty and his clergy not willing to have any, he proceeded no further. But for all these excuses, Grafton was sent to the Fleet, and there remained six weeks, and before he came out was bound in three hundred pounds, that he should neither sell, nor imprint, or cause to be imprinted, any more Bibles, until the king and the clergy should agree upon a translation...afterwards the said Grafton, being charged for the imprinting of a balet made in the favour of Cromwell, was called before the council," though not proceeded against. (1)

Grafton had also been involved in distributing Melancthon's letter against the Six Articles.

It was in fact the Act of Six Articles which caused the printers most trouble. Foxe complained that "the words of the act were so curious and subtle, that no man could speak, write or cypher against them, without present danger; yea scarcely a man might speak any word of Christ and his religion, but he was in peril of these six articles." Even more alarming was the fact that the Act was followed by a diligent search for heretical books, which must have been present in some numbers after the quiet of Cromwell's years. (2) As a result of these investigations, large numbers of printers were prosecuted. Banks was called before the Council for his supposed part in the ballad controversy which followed the death of Cromwell, (3) but was excused when Grafton admitted to using Bank's name falsely on his pamphlets. John Gough once again ran foul of the authorities, being imprisoned by the Privy Council for printing and selling seditious books. (4) At some time in the previous few years he had printed the anticlerical

(1) Foxe, Vol. V., p.412.

(2) Foxe, Vol. V., p.359.

(3) See below page 123.

(4) Foxe Vol. V, pp. 448 and 831.

Jack up lande (1) and in 1541, he issued an edition of Wycliffe's Prologue, The dore of holy scripture. Associated with Gough in these illegal ventures was a priest called Thomas Lancaster, who found himself lodged in the Compter for his pains. The other printers were troubled for specifically religious misdemeanours under the Six Articles, Grafton and Whitchurch for not being confessed and John Mayler for abusing the sacrament. (2)

At the same time, other bookmen who had been associated with Cromwell suffered similar persecution. Barnes, Garrett and Jerome were burned; Tavener was imprisoned, but released following a petition to the King; Nicholas Udall spent a while in the Marshalsea. Reforming divines also suffered, Sir George Parker, parson of St. Pancras, and Nicholas Philip, parson of St. Magnus, both landing in trouble for handling forbidden books. Philip was accused of "maintaining heresies and scripture books", and Parker for possessing "certain books", one of which was Unio Dissidentium. Illegal words were also prosecuted with renewed vigour in these years following the death of Cromwell. In 1540, Richard Farmer, a grocer, was arraigned in King's Bench for misprision of treason "of certain seditious words spoken by him against the King's majesty", amounting apparently to a denial of the Royal Supremacy. He was condemned to perpetual imprisonment, all his lands and goods being forfeit to the King. (3) For the rest of Henry's reign, the printers remained subject to sudden purges, as Henry's whim or the diplomatic scene rendered an orthodox pose desirable. Censorship remained in the hands of the Privy Council, but with the death of Cromwell, the church regained some of its initiative, and prosecution for heresy was used against the colporteurs, and other handlers of heretical books. In 1541 William Tolwyn was forced to recant and to throw all his books into a fire erected for that purpose. A printed version of his recantation was immediately got out by Richard Lant, and proved so popular that another edition was printed the following year. A copy evidently reached John Bale in exile who immediately set out to answer it, using his usual method of printing excerpts from the original interspersed with diatribes from his own pen.

Also in 1541 Sebastian Newdycgate was interrogated for "being in receipt of divers books, of the which two be against the sacrament of the Altar." (4) His reply showed that the importation of protestant

(1) Dated by Aston 1536-40. See M. Aston op. cit.

(2) Foxe, Vol. V, pp. 444 and 445.

(3) Wriothesley, Vol. 1, p. 118.

(4) Foxe, Vol. V, App X111.

books had become a highly organised concern, (1) with regular collections being made from wealthy subscribers to finance the exiles.

1543 was a particularly bad year. A general wave of persecution, which saw Dr. Heynes struggling for survival, also resulted in the imprisonment of eight of the printers for "printing of such books as were thought to be unlawful, contrary to the proclamation made on that behalf." (2) A further twenty five printers were made to pay a bond of £100 a piece on similar terms. The proclamation referred to was presumably the 1542 prohibition on unauthorised Bibles.(3) This forbade the books of Frith, Tyndale, Wicliff, Joye, Roy, Basil, Bale, Barnes, Coverdale, Turner or Tracy, and prohibited all translations of the Bible except the Great Bible. It also insisted on printers giving full information about the printing of their books and forbade the import of any books without the King's special license. The eight printers troubled for infringing these conditions were Whitchurch, Biddle, Grafton, Middleton, Mayler, Petit, Lant and Kele, all of whom were sent to the Fleet except Petit, who for some unknown reason was lodged in the Compter in Poultry. They were required to submit

"a true declaration what number of books and ballads they have bought within these iii years last past, and what they have sold in gross and what merchants they know to have bought into the Realm any English books of ill matter, and bring in this said writing before the Council within five days after the date hereof, and pay all such fines as shall be set upon their heads for such offences touching the printing of unlawful books contrary to the proclamation." (4)

They were released on payment of a bond of £100 each. Biddle, Middleton, Mayler, Lant and Kele all complied with these conditions and were only in prison for three weeks, but Petit, Grafton and Whitchurch were held for an extra ten days. Possibly they were less co-operative about supplying the information demanded or possibly the Council intended to make an example of the wealthiest and most influential offenders.

It is difficult to guess at the nature of the offence for which these printers were punished. Some of them were certainly committed Protestants who might have been engaging in illicit trade in the works of the prohibited authors, either printed at home or imported. But if Grafton, Whitchurch and Mayler were on the left of the religious spectrum,

(1) See above page 27.

(2) A.P.C., Vol. 1. pp. 107/8. 8 April 1543.

(3) L. & P., Vol. XVll. (1542) p. 79. See Chap. 1. p.74.

(4) A. P. C., Vol. 1., pp 117, 120, 121.

Petit and Middleton appear to have been on the right, and would certainly not have handled heretical books. Kels and Lant, on the other hand, were both prolific printers of ballads, and Grafton had also printed some street literature, so perhaps the offence related to the proper identification of ephemera. Grafton had been guilty three years earlier of issuing ballads under a false imprint, and in general the printers seem to have been rather slack in offering the detailed information that the law required on their books. (1)

Whatever the reason for their imprisonment, this was not the only occasion on which printers were troubled in 1543. Richard Lant was prosecuted for selling Bale's pamphlet on the recantation of Tolwyn, known as Tolwyn's Manne of Synne or Yet a course at the Remyshe foxe. (2) John Turke also ran foul of the Privy Council for "sending to print" the Postilla upon the Gospels. After a short spell in prison he was released, but bound in £ 40. to appear when called. (3) This Postilla, "wherein were found sundry seditious and erroneous opinions," also caused trouble for John Gouge, Mercer and Cobbe, a schoolmaster. Cobbe was committed to ward for translating the work, and Gouge was summoned to the Council to explain his conduct in maintaining Cobbe while he worked on it.

The bishops also made use of the reactionary mood of 1543 to clamp down on those who were too zealous in their reading of the Bible. Foxe is full of accounts of those who, like Mekins, Ward and Porter suffered for their enthusiasm for the scriptures. A group was also uncovered at Windsor in possession of books against the Six Articles, and another public recantation was staged, to drive home to the public the dangers of handling heretical literature. Thomas Becon, Wisdom and Shingleton were the three victims of this recantation, Becon being by far the most important by virtue of his large output of protestant pamphlets. Wriothesley describes how "the said Thomas Becon cut in pieces at his said recanting eleven books which he had made, and caused to be printed, wherein was certain heresies." (4)

The effect of these waves of persecution was to reproduce the situation of the 1520s in which the more committed and vociferous protestants, men like Bale, Hooper and Coverdale, fled abroad to

(1) See Ch.1. p. 20, 21.

(2) Zurik, O. Jacobson, 1543.

(3) A.P.C., Vol.1, p.120, 129.

(4) Wriothesley, Vol. 1, p.142.

print hostile literature from safe havens on the continent. Bale, the most prolific of Protestant pamphleteers, went first to Antwerp which continued to be the main posting stage for England and still handled a considerable quantity of heretical literature. But Antwerp was no longer safe for fugitive reformers, and Bale passed on to Wesel, where he went into partnership with the printer D van der Straten. Between them they produced ten tracts for the English market, all of them highly topical, and all calculated to create maximum annoyance to the authorities at home. The accurate information which Bale managed to obtain about events in London made these tracts of particular value as popular propaganda. He was able, for example to issue his Elucydacyon of the trials of Anne Askew immediately after the martyrdom of that spirited lady, because he had obtained details "in a copy by certain Dutch merchants coming from thence, which had been at their burning and beholden the tyrannous violence there showed." (1) This tract, with its scathing remarks about members of the Council caused a great deal of indignation, but also proved extremely popular. In 1546 the Privy Council ordered the Lord Mayor to examine Holland the searcher, and Morton, a grocer's apprentice of Bucklersbury, about a cargo of Bale's books, consisting mainly, presumably, of this Elucydacyon, recently brought over in a Hoy of Flanders. John Geffrey, who was found in possession of a copy, was sent to the Marshalsea. (2)

But Bale was only one, though perhaps the most infuriating, of a number of religious exiles who were bombarding England with polemic during the last years of Henry's reign. Between 1540 and 1546 continental presses issued works by Coverdale, Tyndale, Becon, Brinkelow, Bale, Joye, Turner, Tracy, Frith, Fish, Roy and even Wicliff. Some of this literature was produced at Antwerp, where the presses of Christopher Ruremond's widow, of A. Goinius, and in particular, of Stephen Mierdman were put at the service of the English reformers. (3) But the Swiss cities now offered greater safety to exiles than the Low Countries, and Zurich became a favourite haven for fugitive Englishmen. Here, as in other cities, the

(1) Foxe, Vol.V, p.837

(2) A.P.C., Vol.1, p.509.

(3) eg. Widow Ruremond, Our saviour jesus Christ hath not over charged his churche, (G.Joye ?) Zijrik (Antwerp) and G.Joye, Joye confuteth Winchester's false articles, Wesill in Cliefelande (Antwerp)

On books by Mierdman, see Colin Clair, 'On the Printing of Certain Reformation Books' in the Library, 5th series, Vol.XVIII, (1963)p.275

protestants found an especially warm welcome among the printing community, Christopher Froschauer in particular offering them every hospitality and acting as their agent in many transactions concerning books. He also printed their pamphlets for them. The English exiles also had access to presses at Wesel, Basle, Bonn, and possibly Strasbourg, though imprints were so imaginative that tracing the provenance of many of these pamphlets requires the skill of a bibliographic Sherlock Holmes. (1)

Apart from the English authors listed above, foreign theologians were also pressed into service to write for the English market. Melancthon produced his famous epistle For the revokinge of the six artycles and Martin Bucer also addressed the situation in England with an answer to Gardiner, which the exiles immediately set about having translated and printed. (2) Other reformers gave permission for their works to be translated into English and used for the propaganda campaign, although they had not been specifically written for that purpose. In particular continental works on clerical marriage were translated and sent into England, translations of Melancthon, Bullinger and Bibliander all appearing on this subject. Works by Corvinus, Luther and Justus Jonas were also produced in English.

Faced with this onslaught of protestant polemic, ranging from the most weighty theological essays to the most scurrilous street pamphlets, the Privy Council was unable to maintain any consistent policy of censorship. Spasmodic purges were met with occasional successes. Bonner, as we have seen, renewed the episcopal campaign which had lapsed during Cromwell's ascendancy. Dealers in heretical books were arrested and recantations and book burnings staged. And in 1546 the Council succeeded in intercepting the cargo of Bale's books mentioned above. They also questioned Marshall the physician, about his conduct in procuring slanderous books against the King to be printed at Danzig. (3) But whatever action was taken it clearly had little effect

(1) For the suggestion that works purporting to come from Leipzig or Wesel were really printed in London, see D.M. Loades, 'The Press under the Early Tudors, A study in Censorship and Sedition', I.C.B.S., Vol. 1V, (1968) p.29.

(2) L. & P., Vol. XXI, part 2, p.393.

(3) A.P.C., Vol. 1, p.419.

on the authorities in Danzig, for the city was once again involved in illegal printing for England in Mary's reign. On that occasion pressure was brought to bear on the city to prevent such abuses in the future. Another success, achieved in 1544 when Todd, a Scotsman was apprehended at Calais and found to be carrying books from Germany, was apparently the result of a lucky chance rather than of efficient surveillance. (1)

It was not that Bonner lacked enthusiasm for the task of censorship, but there were many factors at work which limited his effectiveness. In the first place, his authority was seriously undermined by the fact that the final arbiter in book matters was no longer ecclesiastical, but secular, namely the Privy Council, and the Privy Council showed no enthusiasm for the task except where the honour of Councillors or the reputation of the King was at stake. In the second place, the tide of public opinion was running strongly against the bishop. Ten years of relatively unfettered protestant propaganda had served to underline the city's anticlericalism and to encourage a still small, but growing body of committed and vociferous protestants. The outrage demonstrated at the racking and death of Anne Askewe had been foreshadowed a year earlier when a city jury had acquitted her, together with Robert Lukine and Joan Sawtry of offences against the Act of Six Articles. (2) This radical mood seems to have expressed itself in public non co-operation where the enforcement of ecclesiastical censorship was concerned. Holland the searcher had evidently been turning a blind eye to illegal cargoes, and judging by the number of books that entered the country it seems likely that other searchers were also somewhat lethargic when it came to reporting suspicious loads.

These difficulties were aggravated by the doctrinal vacillations of the King. Henry may pose as the champion of orthodoxy, but it was clear that if diplomatic pressures shifted he would be quite willing to flirt with protestantism. On the one hand he maintained an Archbishop who was known to sympathise with reform, and on the other, he enacted the ferocious Act of Six Articles under which no recantation would serve to save anyone condemned of sacramental heresy. As a

(1) Foxe, Vol.V. p.523.

(2) Wriothesley, Vol.1. p.155.

contemporary pamphleteer complained :

" the laws concerning the wealth, governance and good order of the church, they are now firmly decreed and set fast, and tomorrow unmade and marred again, they are treated and retracted, acted and unacted....there is no manner nor measure, none end nor no certain form nor fashion of their wavering laws, inconstant acts, crafty counsels, forewritings, afterwritings, opinions, doctrines, sentences and minds " (1)

With such inconsistencies of policy it was almost impossible to enforce doctrinal censorship with any degree of efficiency. Neither the public nor the church officials could be certain of exactly what was permitted at any given time, and neither could they be sure of how the King would act if an appeal over books should reach him. Those who had complained to him of Cranmer's heretical views had met a very cool response, so that it was not surprising if, when it came to heresy hunting, the majority of church officials considered discretion the better part of valour.

A further difficulty facing Bonner and his colleagues was that the volume of books in public circulation had swollen considerably since the 1520s. There was a considerable traffic across the channel in legitimate works, such as Latin news books, maps and classics. The great continental fairs, and particularly Frankfurt fair, had become not only meeting places for merchants, but also occasions for scholarly interchange at which influential stationers like Froschauer replenished their stock with the latest scholarly and theological treatises. From the fairs large numbers of books were shipped, through Antwerp to England, either in bulk for the stationers, or in ones and twos as part of the correspondence between English and Continental scholars. Foxe tells us that Cranmer "accounted it no idle point to bestow one hour or twain of the day in reading over such works and books as daily came from beyond the seas". (2) The presence on the Continent of large numbers of English reformers added to the traffic flowing along this scholarly route. And as both commercial and private circulation of books increased, the task of the censors

(1) Our Saviour Jesus Christ hath not overcharged his church 1543

(2) Foxe, Vol.VIII, p.13.

became more and more formidable.

It is not surprising, therefore, that Bonner's efforts met with very limited success. The survival rate of the illegal literature of the 40s is considerably higher than that for the 20s, and Gardiner himself admitted that censorship in these last years of Henry's reign was comparatively ineffective. Writing to Somerset in 1547 about Bale's account of the death of Anne Askew, he agreed that "such like things have, by stealth in our late sovereign Lord's day gone abroad, as they do now." (1) Cromwell's fall may have alarmed the protestant printers and traders, and certainly exposed them to a considerable amount of harassment. But it did not spell the end of the protestant book trade. On the contrary by producing a new exodus of reforming writers it increased both the volume and the bitterness of protestant polemic.

2. Bills and broadsides. 1540-1547.

One area in which the printing trade was definitely affected by the death of Cromwell was in the production of street literature. The low survival rate of bills, ballads and broadsides makes it difficult to chart their evolution with any accuracy. Many were pinned up on doors and walls where they suffered the depredations of bad weather, rusty nails and public vandalism. Many were dangerous to handle, and liable to be destroyed for safety's sake. Nearly all were highly topical, and as such not the normal matter for book collectors, rarely finding their way into libraries except perhaps in the binding of another book. Even ballads which were not dangerous to own were bought for a penny, read, passed on, folded up and carried around, and eventually probably fell to pieces through constant handling. As a result we know of many more bills through references in contemporary sources than through surviving copies.

In order for bills hostile to the establishment to find their way into print, the printing community had to have reached a sufficient size to allow illicit printing to pass unobserved. In London this point seems to have been reached some time in the late 1520s, and there is a little evidence to suggest that by 1530 the political broadside was on the point of emerging. The bill on the death of

(1) Muller, p.276.

Bilney that was sent to Lobley was probably intended for the press, and had Lobley not been under investigation already, it might well have been printed. A ballad about Latimer which Strype printed was also probably intended for the press, though in fact it does not appear to have been printed at the time, despite the author's prayer.

" Go, little treatise, void of all eloquence,
I pray to God, that thou may come to light." (1)

The accusations levelled at Latimer in this poem suggest that it was written in the 1520s.

" L for Lollard stands in this place.
A for error of great iniquity.
T for a traitor to God, lacking grace.
I for ignorance of the true Trinity.
M for maintainer of those that nought be.
E for eretick, as learned men saith.
R for rebeller against Christ's faith..... "

The author goes on to uphold traditional ceremonies including pilgrimages and the veneration of images. A later verse had been added to Strype's version, probably in the first years of Elizabeth's reign, declaring " he was a lamb..." This later version may well have been printed.

But if the broadside had been about to emerge in 1530 Cromwell's rise to power clearly checked its development. No bills or ballads survive from the years of Cromwell's ascendancy, and neither are there any references to street literature in contemporary documents. In fact the production in Scotland of " railing ballets and slanderous rhymes against the king of England, for casting off the lady dowager, and for abolishing the pope;" caused Sadler to be posted north in 1536 with a homily on the value of a good reputation, and the request that James immediately call in the " sundry ballets, criminations, and infamous libels made, and untruly forged and devised in Scotland against his grace... punishing the authors and setters forth thereof according to their demerits." (2) As is often the case with these ephemeral works, it is difficult to tell whether these bills were printed, or circulated in manuscript. But it seems likely that they were printed for there must have been considerable numbers involved for the King to have taken such vigorous action.

(1) Strype, E.M. Vol.1, part 2, p.180 - 182.

(2) Foxe, Vol.V. p.103.

We know that some ballads were written in the 1530s, for Foxe tells us that by the industry and ingenious labours of divers fresh and quick wits in Cromwell's own household "divers excellent both ballads and books were contrived and set abroad, concerning the suppression of the pope and all popish idolatry." (1) As an example Foxe prints Gray's Fantasie of Idolatrie but no printed version of this has survived from the 1530s, and the fact that Foxe prints it in full would suggest that copies were not available. It was certainly in circulation in 1538 when two verses were pinned to the gallows at the execution of Friar Forrest and the Welsh dissident.

* Also Delver Gathaene,
As (saith the Welchman)
Brought outlawes out of hell,
Is come with spere and shelde,
In harneys to burne in Smythfielde;
For in Wales he may not dwell.

Then Forest the fryer,
That obstynate lyer,
That wyllingly is dead;
In his contumacy,
The gospell did deny,
And the Kyng to be supreme head." (2)

This uninspired piece of work presumably circulated in manuscript and it is possible that other ballads, including hostile verses, were passed around at this time. But the lack of any reference to hostile bills in contemporary chronicles and letters proves that they must have been rare. The remarkable boom in bill-mongering that followed Cromwell's execution implies that it was his close and intelligent surveillance of the trade which prevented political broadsides from appearing on the streets in any number until 1540.

Cromwell's death in 1540 seemed to release the floodgates of popular street literature. Despite the dangers to the printers which the reaction of that year presented, large numbers of broadsides immediately appeared on the streets. The execution itself provided the perfect subject for a popular news sheet, probably interlarded with moral comments. We know of the existence of this account, probably printed broadside, from a letter of Pole's. Writing to Ludovico Beccadello from Brussels, he comments that he fears he was wrong in writing of Cromwell's coming to his senses, "for his words as printed

(1) Foxe, Vol. V., p.403.

(2) *ibid*, Vol.V., p.408.

do not give the same impression as the narrative of those who told of his end and last words." (1) This bill has not survived, but we have other examples of the genre from a little later, notably the accounts of Lord Sturton's death in March 1557 printed by Thomas Marsh and William Pickering. (2)

Of greater interest than this simple news sheet was the ballad controversy which immediately broke out concerning the nature of Cromwell's offence. The first salvo in this battle was fired by Thomas Smith, clerk of the Queen's Council, (not to be confused with the Greek scholar Sir Thomas Smith who was out of the country at the time). This Smith was apparently the "great and notable papist called Trolling Smith" who fell down dead in the street some years later, an example, Foxe would have us believe, of God's vengeance on papists. (3) Smith declared in his Balade on Thomas Cromwell,

"Both man and chylde is glad to hear tell
Of that false Traitor Thomas Cromwell
Now that he is set to learn to spell
Sing troll on away." (4)

This hostile ballad was probably printed by Robert Redman, but it carries no printer's name, and although Smith referred to it in later ballads, his name did not appear on the bill.

William Gray, author of the Fantasie of Idolatrie and one of Cromwell's "fresh and quick wits", then took up the pen to defend his old master. In A Balade Agaynst Malycyous Sclaunderers, which was printed by John Gough, he points out that Cromwell died honestly.

"For all his offences in everything
He asked god mercy and grace of the King
And of all the wide world for his transgressing."

Urging Smith to have charity on the dead, he accuses him of popery, and also attacks the printer:

"A pretty wise printer belike he was
Which of his printing so little doth pass
To print such piled poetry, as this same was
Like maker, like printer, two trolls of the game,
A pair of good papists ye be pain of shame." (5)

But however Gray might cover his efforts to clear his master's name, there was a degree of sedition involved in defending a man who

(1) L. & P., Vol. XVI., p.12.

(2) Society of Antiquaries' Book of Broadsides, Nos. 41 & 42.

(3) Foxe., Vol. VIII., p.634.

(4) Society of Antiquaries' Book of Broadsides, No.4.

(5) *ibid.* No.5.

had just been executed for treason. Smith seized upon this in his next effort, A Lyttel Treatise Agaynst Seditious Persons, and complained of Gray's ballads:

"Such trolling treacherous my heart sore doth pierce
Considering how seditiously among us they be sown...." (1)

The next five ballads, Gray's A Breve Apologye or Answer, Smith's A Treatyse declarynge the Despyte of a secrete sedycious person, Gray's An Answer to Maister Smyth, Smith's An Envoye from Thomas Smith, and The Return of M. Smythes envoy, by Gray, saw the tone of the controversy sink to the level of personal bickering in which the original topic of discussion was forgotten. The series then ends with two appeals for peace. The first comes from a certain "G.C.", in which he asks both combatants "to grow at last to an honest accord", though he makes no secret of the fact that he himself is a partisan of Gray's. This ballad, entitled A Paumflet Compyled by G.C. To master Smyth and Wylliam G. was answered by Richard Smith in An Artificiall Apologie. In this he comes to the rescue of his namesake in a piece of ridiculous doggerel ending the debate on a determinedly light hearted note. (2)

The publication of this remarkable series of ballads, on such a topic, and in the repressive atmosphere of 1540, was daring to the point of foolhardiness and in fact action was taken against all those who had taken part, Thomas Smith and William Gray being sent to the Fleet for writing invective against each other. The Council then summoned Banks, whose name had appeared on two of the Gray ballads, (An Answer to Maister Smyth, and The Return of M. Smythes envoy), and on the last two ballads, by G.C. and Richard Smith. Banks, however, denied having anything to do with the publications "and laid the fault to Robert Redman, deceased, and Richard Grafton, the which Richard Grafton, confessing that he had not only printed part of the said invectives, but also had in his keeping a certain seditious epistle in thenglish tongue, written by Melancthon, contrary to thact of vi articles for Christian religion, was committed to the porters' ward." (3) It was probably partly in response to this piece of deceit that the Proclamation of 1542 laid down that ballads

(1) *ibid.* No.6.

(2) All of these ballads are in the Society of Antiquaries' Book of Broad-sides, except the Breve Apologye or Answer which is in the Huntingdon Library.

(3) Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council of England, ed. N.H.Nicolas, (1834-1837,) Vol. VII, pp. 105 and 106.

as well as books should carry full and accurate information concerning the circumstances of their publication. (1)

The anxiety caused among the printers by the repressive measures which followed the fall of Cromwell caused another bill of 1540 to be circulated in manuscript. We hear of its existence in one of the Smith ballads mentioned above:

" The confession of an heretic that lately did offend,
And amongst others suffered for his diserving,
Secretly they embrace as a most precious thing.
And yet plainly will I prove, by good law and reason,
Contained therein both heresy and treason.
In any wise imprinted they will not it shall be
The dangers thereof in themselves mistrusting
Wherefore every man may well perceive and see
What hearts they do bear to god and our good King
Every of them secretly must have it in writing...." (2)

This confession was probably a last letter of Robert Barnes. One such was printed in Germany at this time, and this may have been either the original, or a copy of the printed bill. It would certainly have been a highly dangerous document to possess in the religious climate of 1540, and too hot for even the most incautious printer to handle. It was probably this confession which called forth Standish's pamphlet A little Treatise against the protestation of R.Barnes which was also printed in 1540, and which Bale considered dangerous enough to need a reply. His Catalogus adversus impostorem Standicum is now lost. Another bill of 1540 was also concerned with the death of Barnes. This lyttle treatyse declareth the study and frutes of Barnes borned was a set of verses deriding the doctrine and personal habits of Barnes, and was printed for Richard Banks in 1540.

Apart from these ballads arising directly from the executions of 1540, there were other bills and ballads abroad in that year. The Society of Antiquaries Book of Broad-sides places A Short Answer to the Boke called Beware the Cat in 1540. This is a scurrilous poem the purpose of which was to deny that the ballad Beware the Cat was written by one Stremer, and to affirm that it was the work of William Baldwin. Later editions of Beware the Cat were set in John Day's

(1) See Ch.1. p.21, 22.

(2) T.Smith, A lyttel Treatise Agaynst Seditious Persons.

office at Aldersgate in the year 1552, and this fact, and the involvement of Baldwin may suggest that 1540 is too early a date for this ballad. Nevertheless the controversy may well have started in that prolific year. We also have a glimpse of another bill dating from this time, though in all probability this was a manuscript letter. Investigations into the activities of the Duchess of Norfolk produced a confession from William Assheby that she had taken writings from Dereham's chest "and papers of ballads and a ballad book with notes for playing upon the lute." One was, she said, the bill "that was laid in her pew in Lambeth church." (1) Since this bill found its way among a sheaf of ballads it was almost certainly also a ballad, but it must have been a highly controversial piece if it required such surreptitious methods of dispersal.

For the rest of Henry's reign bills and ballads on a number of topics continued to circulate in London. We know that the public had a great appetite for news, and there must have been numbers of news sheets produced to satisfy the demand. Unfortunately, like the account of the death of Cromwell, they have nearly all disappeared, one of the few surviving examples being The cotype of the submissyon of Oneyll, a broadside printed for Gough by Lant in 1542. A similar fate met most of the sheet almanacks, which were commonly pinned upon walls as a guide to dates, tides etc. (2) We know of one that was printed by Michael Lobley in 1545 (3) and an ecclesiastical sheet calendar of terms and festivals survives from c.1542. (4) But though there must have been a considerable trade in reference sheets of this kind, they rarely outlived their year of use. Broadside epitaphs had an equally short life, for they were intended to be hung on the tomb of the deceased, and their chances of survival were very slim. (5) One which has survived is the Excellent Epitaffe of Syr Thomas Wyat which was printed by J. Herforde for R. Toye in 1542.

Broadsides of this kind were harmless enough, but of much greater concern to the authorities were those bills and ballads which dealt with political or religious matters. The subject of the sacrament

(1) L & P, Vol. XVI, p. 664.

(2) E. F. Bosanquet, English Printed Almanacks and Prognostications. A Bibliographical History to the year 1600, (1917.)

(3) H. Ames, Typographical Antiquities, ed. T. F. Dibdin (1816.) Vol. III, p. 539.

(4) S. T. C. 392.

(5) M. A. Shaaber. Some forerunners of the newspaper in England 1476-1622 (Philadelphia 1929.) p. 33.

of the altar was particularly popular among balladeers, and after the fall of Cromwell each change in official doctrine was met by a rash of street literature. In 1543 John Marbecke was foolish enough to put his views on the subject into writing, declaring that

"the holy mass when the priest doth consecrate the body of our Lord, is polluted, deformed, sinful and open robbery of the glory of god, from the which a christian heart ought both to abhor and flee. And the elevation of the sacrament is the similitude of the setting up of Images of the calves in the temple builded by Jeroboam, and that it is more abomination than the sacrifices done by the Jews in Jeroboam's temple to those calves. And that certain and sure it is that Christ himself is made in this mass men's laughing stock, ac multa alia erronea et heretica verba....in contemptum, despectum et derisionem eiusdem sacri Altaris...." (1)

Marbecke had already written a ballad "of Moses' Chair" (2) but whether he intended to publish these highly dangerous views on the sacrament must be in some doubt. Nevertheless, his opinions must have come into the wrong hands, or too many hands, for him to be troubled for them.

The following year another batch of sacramentary bills appeared on the streets, as the Greyfriars' chronicler records:

"the xv day of the same month (May) at night was cast divers books of heresies in divers parts of London against the sacrament of the altar, with all other sacraments and sacramentals, and naming divers times the bishop of Winchester with divers other bishops and learned men, with great rebukes divers times in it of them." (3)

Once again the chronicler gives us no clue as to whether these bills were printed or manuscript, but as they were broadcast in considerable numbers, they were probably printed. He calls them books, but here again no definite conclusions can be drawn concerning their size or method of production from the use of this word. In general "book" was used to describe a pamphlet of more than one leaf, and "bill" to describe a broadside, but the terms book, bill, ballad, letter, losel, libel rhyme were all used to describe street literature of both the broadside and pamphlet varieties, both printed and manuscript. Bills sent in from the provinces were likely to be manuscript, as there were few printing houses outside London, but there were still some ex monastic presses scattered around the country which could have been employed by provincial dissidents, though no evidence survives.

(1) C/66./727, m.35, in P.R.O.

(2) Foxe, Vol. 11, p.485.

(3) Greyfriars, p.48.

Broadsides were also printed abroad on occasions and smuggled into the country. A lewd rhyme about the King which was sent into England in 1542 had probably been printed in Scotland. (1)

In London it made little difference to the impact of a bill whether it was written or printed, for the capacity of the London populace for spreading news, rumours, ballads and songs was a much lamented facet of city life. As Henry complained in his oration in Parliament in 1545, the word of God "is disputed, rhymed, sung and jangled in every alehouse and tavern..." (2) When it came to sacramentary ballads, the church authorities were more concerned with the singing than the printing of them. For example, under the Act of Six Articles, Henry Patinson and Anthony Barber were investigated for "maintaining their boys to sing a song against the sacrament of the altar", and Thomas Gangier and John Dictier were noted for common singers against the sacrament and ceremonies. Sherron, the keeper of the Carpenters' Hall was summoned for putting on anti-clerical plays, but no mention is made of the printers of either the ballads or the plays. Presumably the words were being circulated either in manuscript or by word of mouth. (3) Or could the 1543 prosecution of the eight printers described above have been the result of investigations into this kind of street literature? (see note 4)

Among religious subjects dealt with by the bill-mongers, the sacrament of the altar was the most popular but not the only topic. The stupidity of the clergy was also a recurring theme, and this was probably the burden of young John Davis's ballad, "Come down, for all your shaven crown..." Davis, who was only twelve, was imprisoned for his literary pains, though whether it was the ballad that was primarily responsible for his misfortunes seems doubtful, for he had also written a book against the Act of Six Articles. (5) Nor was street literature of this kind produced only by those with a reforming or anti-clerical axe to grind. one of the wittiest ballads circulating in London at this time was John Huntingdon's Genealogye of Heresy which was printed by both Wyer and Redmen in 1542. It was evidently very popular, for Bale found it necessary, three years later, to write a tedious reply entitled A mysterye of inyquyte contayned within the heretycall Genealogye of Ponce Pantolabus.

(1) A P C., Vol. 1., p.41

(2) Foxe, Vol. V., p.535.

(3) Foxe, Vol. V., pp.443-449.

(4) See above page 113.

(5) Foxe, Vol. VIII, p.554.

In this he complains that the original ballad "yet remaineth among the common people in a wonderful number of copies... By such diversity of prints is it easy to perceive that the sale hath been great and the profits thereof plenteous." (1) Unlike Bale's reply, Huntingdon's original ballad ran to only 250 lines, and was probably printed broad-side.

Another effective piece of street literature produced by the conservative camp was Tolwyn's recantation. This probably appealed more as a news sheet than as a piece of religious polemic, but it ran to more than one edition, and once again earned a reply from the indignant Bale. This was printed by Lant (2) who thereby earned himself a lashing from Bale's pen. The following year a row blew up at Windsor over "a certain foolish printed paper in metre, all to the praise and commendation of our lady." (3) This was pinned to the choir door at Windsor in an attempt to provoke the gospellers there, and succeeded in its object.

It is clear that the public's enthusiasm for bills and ballads was not governed by any religious convictions one way or the other, but simply by a love of controversy, of wit, and of malice. The bill was the perfect medium for character assassination, and the most popular victim of libellous bills was Gardiner. Strype describes how, having been appointed to victual the navy, he secured his requirements for meat by having Wednesday made a fish day. Wednesday then became known as "the bishop's fasting day, "and hence proceeded one of the rhymes made upon him, with the burden 'Winchester, Winchester grand mercy for your wine, beshrew your heart for your water.' "(4) Another Winchester bill survives in print from Edward's reign, in which poems were written both for and against the now embattled bishop. (5) Evidently he was the object of considerable public hostility, for the preacher at Paul's Cross had to admonish his audience not to take the bishop's difficulties as an opportunity to gloat over him, but on the contrary, to pray for his soul.

Gardiner may also have been one of those who suffered from the

(1) A mysterye of iniquyte, M. Wood, Geneva, 1545, 87r.

(2) J. Harryson (ie Bale), Yet a course at the Romyshe foxe, O. Jacobson, Zurich, 1543.

(3) Foxe, Vol. V, P. 469.

(4) Strype, E.M., Vol. III, part 1, p. 457.

(5) See below p. 160.

anonymous bills that were strewn around London in the winter of 1545 accusing various people of treason. (1) Writing to Paget at this time he deplored " how many books and scrolls have they cast abroad in London within this year and the offender never found out... and such particular tales blown abroad as cannot be sown but of the devil." The author of these particular bills appears to have been Sir Peter Carew, for Petre wrote to Paget,

" Here was since your departing like to have been a great hurly burly about the examination of certain books covertly thrown abroad, as I think, before your departing, for the which for that Sir Peter Carew was found to have one of them in his custody, he was committed to the keeping of my Lord Privy Seal, and after he had been a season with him, he was sent to my Lord Chancellor's and finally on Sunday last he was remitted to his liberty. A priest named Octavian who was the setter forth of the said books remaneth in the Tower and with the punishment of these two, I trust the matter shall take an end, for if it should be farther tried I fear me great multitude thereby...."

The document is unfortunately damaged, leaving this tantalising hint that these bills may well have been the manifestation of a serious struggle for power within the Council. If by "setter forth" we are to read scribe, it would seem that these bills were circulated in manuscript, and neither printer nor publisher would appear to fit the circumstances. On the other hand, Octavian may well have been the author, and Carew may have had the work printed and circulated. (2) So concerned was the government about these libels that it passed a specific Act, visiting harsh punishment on anyone dealing in such bills. (3)

As Henry's reign drew to a close, the atmosphere of uncertainty and mutual suspicion increased the incidence of such attacks, and the Duke of Norfolk was evidently one of the victims. Writing to the dying King from the Tower he tried to clear himself:

" Undoubtedly, I know not that I have offended any man or that any man was offended with me, unless it were such as are angry with me for being quick against such as have been accused for Sacramentaries. Other cause I know not why any man should bear me ill will and for this cause I know divers have done, as doth appear by casting libels abroad against me." (4)

(1) See above page 40.

(2) S. P., 1, 212, f. 45.

(3) 37. Hen. VIII cap. X, S. R. 3, p. 997 See above page 40

(4) E. Herbert, Henry VIII, (1649.) pp. 565 and 566.

As the head of the Catholic faction, Norfolk was a natural target for the bill writers, the private affairs of his family also offering plenty of scope for perjorative alliterations.

Bills against the King were another matter; and even in the uncertain atmosphere of Henry's last years, little of an overtly seditious nature appeared on the streets of London. There were incendiary bills circulating in Norfolk, and several unflattering letters entered the country from Scotland. We have already noted the bill of 1542. In October of that year, Sir Roger Townesende sent the Council "a certain lewd rhyme devised against the King and the Realme in name of a Scot by an uncertain author" and asked what he should do about it. The Council replied immediately, urging him to "employ his best endeavour for as well the trial out of the author of the said lewd book, as who brought the same to the country, and who were the advancers, furtherers, and setters forward thereof." (1) This bill was probably one of the grosser type of personal attacks, and it sounds as if it was probably printed. No London printer of the time would have printed such a bill. Those who wished to make rude remarks about Henry VIII felt more comfortable doing it from a distance of several hundred miles, even in his old age.

The nearest thing we have to a seditious bill in London in the 1540s is the "lewd writing against the Primacy of the King's Highness" which the ex-Carthusian Selby had "subscribed with his own hand." Selby was sent to the Tower, despite appearing to be "distract of his wit". (2) More dangerous than Selby's declaration, in that they posed a distinct threat to public order, were the rabble rousing placards which occasionally appeared in the city at times of economic stress. The bill of July 1545 which Wrothesley describes appears to have been one of this type, and significantly, it appealed to the most powerful sentiments of Londoners, anticlericalism and xenophobia.

"This month of July were divers bills cast in the streets of London directed to the mayor of the same, declaring in them of certain priests and strangers that would fire the city in divers places, which bills the mayor showed to the King's Council." (3)

Hatred and fear of the foreigner was a more common theme even than religion in these truly popular and spontaneous bills. (4) The Council always took them seriously.

(1) A. P. C., Vol. 1, p.41.

(2) A. P. C., Vol. 1, p.161.

(3) Wrothesley, Vol. 1, p.159.

(4) See below page 183.

Placards of this revolutionary type were hardly ever printed, and many of the bills and ballads discussed above were circulated in manuscript. The printing press had not put the scribes out of business. On the contrary, the increased literacy which had followed on the invention of the press had boosted demand for their products as well. But the printing of bills and broadsides was certainly an attractive proposition, particularly for those printers who lacked capital. In return for a minimal outlay the printer was guaranteed an immediate return, for such products were enormously popular. In return for such immediate gains, many printers were willing to take the risk of printing controversial ballads. As Bale remarked bitterly about the two printers of the Genealogie of Heresy, "such is the insatiable thirst of them that are covetous, that they care not what mischiefs they do to get money." (1) Most printers working in the 1540s produced some broadsides, but the specialists in the field were Richard Lant and Richard Kele.(2) Lant was to remain one of the most prolific producers of broadsides throughout the reigns of Edward and Mary. Interestingly enough, Lant appears to have been a Catholic.

Henry's reign ended with one final attack on the book trade. In 1546, a Proclamation was issued prohibiting heretical books, listing proscribed authors, and insisting on the printers publishing full printing details on books. This was, in fact, simply a reissue of the Proclamation of 1542, but it was backed by a reissue of Wareham's Instrument against heretical books, and was evidently enforced with some vigour. (3) So extensive was the purge that Dr. Richard Cox wrote to Paget in some anxiety:

"For God's love, help as you may. Your proclamation for burning books wrought much hurt, for in many places they have burned New Testaments, Bibles not condemned by the Proclamation, and that out of Parish Churches and honest meaning men's houses. They have burnt the King's Majesty's books concerning our religion lately set forth, and his primers, which now must be utterly despised and not used nor taught the youth, contrary to his most godly meaning and commandment. They teach the old latin with the old ignorance, and would that printers should print them again, and promise them good utterance. The Proclamation meant well for the abolishing of ill books, but the success is eradicare lolium cum tritico. Some that knew what

(1) Mysterie of Iniquity, 87. r.

(2) See below page 338.

(3) Foxe, Vol. V., p.570. For the proclamation, see above page 74.

was to be done, yet, for fear of danger, made away
 -all. Other that stood in a marmering circumferebentur
 omni vento tentationis and cast away all, good and bad.
 The third, which had none to cast away, rejoiced much
 that they might remain still in their old ignorancy
 and superstitious folly." (1)

This over enthusiastic attack on heretical literature was backed by a burst of Catholic polemic. Gardiner, who had been the chief spokesman for the conservatives throughout the 40s, carrying on a sporting controversy with William Turner, (2) issued four copies in 1546. Two editions of his Detection of the devil's sophistrie were printed by Herford for the stationer Robert Toye, and the same partnership co-operated on his Declaration of such true articles as Joye hath gone about to confute. This also ran to two editions. Herford continued with this burst of Catholic propaganda, issuing Sampson's In D. Pauli epistolam ad Romanos and two works by Richard Smith, The assertion and defence of the Sacramente and The defence of the blessed masse. Other Catholic works also appeared in the book shops at this time, including a strange little book printed by J. Mychell who was still working in London, The life of St. Margaret. One piece of propaganda, however, did not have the desired effect. Anne Askewe's examination, which the bishop had printed, amounted virtually to a recantation, and was intended to demoralise the protestants. However, Anne's swift denial of the printed version, and the gross error made by the authorities in putting this gentlewoman to the rack, counterbalanced any effect the recantation might have had. It also roused the ire of John Bale, who proceeded to print an account of the whole proceedings with regard to Anne, much to the embarrassment of the Council.

This Catholic reaction of 1546 also produced several prosecutions of those engaged in illegal book dealing. We have seen that steps were taken against the importers of Bale's books, and that Marshall's adventures in Danzig were curtailed. John Geffrey and John Davis also ran into danger for handling protestant

(1) L & P, Vol. XXI, part 2, p. 147.

(2) 1543 Turner, The huntynge and fynding out of the Romishe fox (Basyl).
 c1544 Gardiner, The examination of a proude praesumptuous hunter
 Mulder p. 480
 1545 Turner, The Rescuynge of the romishe fox (Zurich ?)

literature, and White was sent to Newgate for attempting to make an erroneous book against the sacrament. At this point, with the Catholic campaign on the offensive, and protestant book dealers harassed on all sides, the old King died.

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1. Somerset and the Press.

The death of Henry VIII, coming as it did at the end of a period of repression, inevitably resulted in a feeling of liberation within the book community. This mood, and the expectation that the new government would be sympathetic to reform, led to the production of large numbers of tracts and pamphlets, nearly all of them expounding a protestant point of view. Since a large proportion, though not all, of the restraints previously imposed upon the press had been directed against the production of protestant works, the removal of those restraints had its greatest impact in this area of the market. (1) Nevertheless, the flood of literature, both popular and scholarly, which followed their repeal, and the general atmosphere of liberation which can be sensed throughout the book trade, indicates that by 1547 bookmen were largely protestant in their religious sympathies. (2) Freed from the inhibitions of Henry's reign, the printers were now able to print whatever they wished, and they chose to print protestant polemic. Catholic propaganda, which was not at first prohibited provided that it was not papalist, was not published in any quantity. (3) Its failure to appear suggests that the initiative in controversy was still with the reformers, and that few pamphleteers and few printers were enthusiastic for the defence of orthodoxy.

The 'liberal' policy towards the press which was instigated by Somerset facilitated this flood of protestant literature, but it was not in itself the cause of the flood. Undoubtedly the known reforming views of the King and his Council encouraged writers and publishers to take a protestant standpoint. It is also true that Somerset himself was active in encouraging a campaign of protestant education through the press.⁽⁴⁾ But the outburst of radical street literature which followed the death of the old king was not organised, and seems to have taken both Somerset and the rest of the Council by surprise. In considering the Council's response to this outburst it is important to bear in mind that the policies adopted were not Somerset's alone, but those of the whole Council, and must have reflected the views not only of the Protector, but also, in particular, of Archbishop Cranmer. The

(1) For the Henrician Acts and the Edwardian Repeal see Chapter 1.

(2) For an analyses of the religious views of the printers see below

(3) See below p.207.

p. 184.

(4) See below p.321.

general attitude that the Council adopted during this first year of Edward's reign was that anything that was not anticlerical, irreligious, treasonable, papalist or anabaptist, might be printed.

When considered against the background of the previous decade, this policy was certainly a liberal one, though it was by no means a policy of free expression in the modern sense. The repeal of the Henrician treason laws was specifically intended to remove the fear of laws which were felt to be "very straight, sore, extreme and terrible." (1)

Similar freedom was extended to the spoken word. Parliamentary debates were carried on in a new atmosphere of freedom, at least until the advent of Northumberland, and the members of the Lower House of Convocation hastened to throw off the shadow of praemunire and of the Act of Six Articles, petitioning that they might be permitted to speak their minds without danger of Statute Law. To Somerset's contemporaries the new freedom came as a relief after the restraints and fears of Henry's last years, but not all were convinced of the wisdom of a policy which was generally acknowledged to be liberal. To begin with most of the warnings came from those who held conservative views in religious matters and who were alarmed at the protestant tone of the debate now being conducted in public. Complaints from the Spanish ambassador about the open airing of radical views and experimentation in worship drew from Somerset the noncommittal assurance that he did not intend to release subjects from "the restraints of proper order and obedience."

(2) For Gardiner, however, any open discussion of religious matters was potentially seditious. Writing to Cranmer in the spring of 1547 he warned that the security and prosperity of the realm required "silence in the people, who should serve and obey without quarrelling among themselves for matters of religion." (3)

As Edward's reign progressed, the social and political instability which was the inevitable outcome of a minority, caused more and more of Somerset's colleagues to doubt the wisdom of the *relaxed* policies which most had welcomed when the reign began. Writing to the Protector in 1548 Paget suggested that perhaps the pendulum had swung too far in the direction of freedom of speech;

(1) 1 Edward VI, cap.12, S.R. Vol.IV, p.18.

(2) Span Cal, Vol.IX, pp. 197, 205, 206.

(3) Muller, p. 307.

... "all things were too straight and now they are too loose; then it was dangerous to do or speak, though the meaning were not evil, and now every man hath liberty to do and speak at liberty."

Paget was evidently not concerned primarily with the religious debate, but with the flood of social tracts which had appeared, criticising the economic and social policies of the government. His letter continues,

... "then (i.e. under Henry VIII), the prince thought not convenient for the subject to judge or to dispute or talk of the sovereign his matters and had learned of his father to keep them in due obedience by the administration of justice under the law, and now the ministers of the prince mislike not that every man judge and dispute of their doings upon supposal that all men shall be pleased. And, therefore, as the people (which be most inconstant, uncertain and flexible) vary their sayings and show themselves to like or mislike, so do the ministers change their determinations, contrary to all the rules of policies. The governor not feared, the noblemen contemned, the gentlemen despised." (1)

The pamphlets which most worried Paget were not the religious tracts, but the works of social reformers like Crowley, Mordaunt and Nicolls.

(2) Nevertheless he did consider that religious obedience was as essential as obedience to the law. In a further reminder, sent to Somerset in 1549, he points out that as law and religion were the cement of society, if either were weak or lacking, "farewell all just society, farewell King & government, justice, all other virtue."

(3) Somerset's inflexibility in the face of changing circumstances, and his unwillingness to listen to sound advice, prevented him from realising, as Paget and other councillors had quickly seen, that the policies of 1547 could not be maintained during a period of social and religious upheaval. It was Somerset, therefore, who bore the odium of the policy's failure. As Morison put it in his famous stricture, quoted by Froude

"In all other countries speeches are at liberty, for such are the peoples' natures, as when they have talked they have done. In our country it is otherwise, for their talking is preparatory

(1) Paget to Somerset, Christmas Day 1548. The whole of this letter is printed in Barrett L. Beer, 'A Critique of the Protectorate; An Unpublished Letter of Sir William Paget to the Duke of Somerset' in the Huntingdon Library Quarterly, Vol.34 (1970/71) p.277.

(2) See below p. 163.

(3) Dom. Cal. Edward VI. Vol.VIII p.4.

Strype, E.M., vol II, pt 2, pp 429-37
(136)

to doing; and the worst act that ever was done in our time was the general abolishing of the Act of Words by the Duke of Somerset, whereof we have already had some experience." (1)

To some extent the relative freedom enjoyed by bookmen at the beginning of Edward's reign was probably the result of governmental ineptitude. But the gradual reimposition of censorship in the years following 1548 does suggest the triumph of political realism over a positive attempt at a policy of tolerance. Such a policy would certainly have reflected the doctrinal standpoint of many Edwardian Councillors, Cecil, Cheke, Cranmer, Somerset and others all subscribing to the doctrine of justification by faith alone. Since faith, unlike orthodoxy, cannot be commanded, such a conviction was bound to lead to an emphasis on persuasion and education as more fitting methods of evangelism than the direct exercise of authority. The popularity of the works of Melancthon among this group of courtiers would have further encouraged them to tolerate some degree of public debate on doctrinal matters.

It is true that neither Melancthon nor any other significant continental reformer was prepared to see subjects absolved from the duties of quiet obedience. Tolerance taken to the point at which unity was threatened and social discipline undermined could not be seen as anything but irresponsibility in a governor. Even in the 'Good Duke' image of a prince who befriended the poor and meted out social justice, an image which seems to have been central to Somerset's view of himself and of his role as Protector, doctrinal laxity and the tolerance of disorder had no part to play. (2) But while Somerset's fellow Councillors would have viewed an excess of liberty as socially disastrous, they do seem to have shared his humanist belief that the spread of biblical knowledge and of doctrinal awareness among the general public must be of benefit to

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- (1) J.A.Froude, History of England from the fall of Wolsey to the Defeat of the Spanish Armada, (1870) Vol. V, p. 64.
(MS Germany, Bundle 16, Mary, State Paper Office)
- (2) For the 'Good Duke' tradition see M.L.Bush, The Government Policy of Protector Somerset, (1975).

the state. These protestant humanists seem to have felt that in any free intellectual debate the truth must inevitably triumph in the end. The Henrician advocacy of the social and spiritual benefits of an open Bible was widened under Somerset and his contemporaries to include open discussion of most key doctrines, in the belief that the Word of God was invincible and that free enquiry must lead eventually to the truth. Somerset even extended this tolerance to radicals like Thomas Dabbe and Henry Harte, but in this he probably went further than his fellow humanists would have gone. (1)

This Erasmian attitude seems to have been widespread among Somerset's fellow Councillors at the beginning of Edward's reign (2) and was certainly shared by Cranmer, though his tolerance was not quite as wide as Somerset's where radical dissenters were concerned. He shared the Protector's educational interests, and he, together with the other reforming bishops attempted to equip all the cathedrals with adequate libraries in which not only the works of the fathers, but also of modern continental theologians, and, significantly, of Erasmus, would be available. Cranmer was also an enthusiast for grammar school education for all able boys, and his own career was an eloquent testimony to the ideal of a doctrinal reformation evolving slowly through a process of earnest intellectual enquiry. This ideal found expression in Edward's first statute, which voices the hope that it will not be necessary to have recourse to harsh punishments, but that the King's subjects "shall study rather for love than for fear to do their duties, first to Almighty God and then to his Highness and the Commonwealth." (3)

The ideal of government, and reform, by consent sprang from that appreciation of the possibility of honest disagreement which enabled William Cecil, Somerset's secretary, to strike up a close friendship with Cardinal Pole on the basis of their mutual love of letters and despite their doctrinal differences. (4) But such an ideal was unattainable, as the same statute admitted, considering that "in a multitude all be not on that sort that reason and the knowledge of

(1) L.B.Smith, 'Henry VIII and the Protestant Triumph' American Historical Review, LXXI, (1966) p.123

(2) For liberal attitudes in Cromwell's circle see above p. 104 ff.

(3) 1 Edward VI cap.1. S.R. Vol.IV, p.2.

(4) Hoak has shown that Somerset's Council was noticeably more academic than Northumberland's, and also that it was drawn from a wider religious spectrum.
D.E.Hoak, The King's Council in the Reign of Edward VI (Cambridge 1976.) Ch.2, p.34.

their duties can move them from Offence, but many which had need have some bridle of fear...." Tolerance of dissent gradually gave way in the first year of Edward's reign before the necessity of enforcing social order and religious discipline. The first restraints to be applied appeared in May 1547 and were directed against the publication of Catholic apologetics. Among those who had taken advantage of the increased output of the presses following the death of the old King was Dr. Richard Smith, the noted Catholic controversialist. At the beginning of the year he published two tracts, A briefe treatyse settinge forth divers truthes and A defence of the blessed masse. The government's response to these publications made it clear that its 'liberalism' was a strictly protestant phenomenon and did not extend to the publication of catholic doctrine. Wriothsesley the chronicler tells us that "the fifteenth day of May 1547 Dr. Smith...preached at Paul's Cross and there recanted and burned two books which he had lately set forth, one of traditions and another of unwritten verities, and there he professed a new sincere doctrine contrary to his old papistical order, as his articles in writing plainly sheweth" (1) Smith then fled abroad, renounced his "new sincere doctrine", and continued to publish Catholic propaganda and to have it smuggled into England. (2)

In the same month the Council took action to prevent the circulation in the north of the old service book, Exoneratorium Curatorum. The reading of this book, which was a priest's aid, was forbidden, and all copies were called in. (3) At about the same time two Catholic dissenters were condemned for treason for attempting to found the kind of exiled missionary community which had caused so much trouble under Henry VIII. Thomas Maundale, parson of St. Leonard's, Foster Lane, and Thomas Hikeman, clerk, late of Charter House, had helped a certain John Foxe to escape from prison and get to Louvain. There Foxe had been professed as a monk, and had sent home for certain relics which he possessed, such as Prior Houghton's arm, which Maundale and Hikeman had duly sent him. (4)

The prosecution of these two catholic clerics and the clamp down on catholic literature may have been in part a response to the wave of rumours concerning the government's religious policy that swept the

(1) Wriothsesley, Vol.1, P.184.

(2) See below, p. 176 ff.

(3) Nicholas Pocock, 'Papers of Archbishop Holgate,' E.H.R., Vol.1X, (1894), p.545.

(4) Wriothsesley, Vol.1, p.184.

country in the spring of 1547. Less than a fortnight after Dr. Smith's recantation, a Proclamation was issued enforcing the statutes against seditious rumours. The King and Council had apparently been informed "that there hath been now of late divers lewd and light tales told, whispered and secretly spread abroad by uncertain authors, in markets, fairs and alehouses in divers and sundry places of this realm of innovations and changes in religion and ceremonies of the Church feigned to be done and appointed by the King's Highness.... which by his grace or them was never begun nor attempted..." No such tales are to be "reported, told, written, or otherwise published and spread about" on pain of the penalties laid down in the statutes against seditious rumours. Whether or not the catholics had been contributing to the spread of alarming rumours, the government's action against them made it quite clear that whatever settlement was eventually reached, it would not be a catholic one.

The campaign to prevent the publication of Catholic literature continued throughout 1547 against a background of an otherwise tolerant press policy. In December Miles Huggard, the ablest of the conservative pamphleteers, was called before the Council for giving the sacrament other names than those given in scripture, contrary to an Edwardian declaration. This action was probably an attempt to put an end to what appears to have been another ballad controversy. This contest had opened with a protestant ballad on the sacrament, beginning,

"What meaneth this guise, I would fain hear,
Strange sights in my eyes, there do appear,
Defended with lies, both far and near,
Great ruth it is.
I see men honour, Both bread and wine
For christ our Saviour, which he left for a sign
To the believer, of his death divine
Lord amend this. (1)

To this Huggard replied in a persuasive ballad called the Abuse of the blessed sacrament of the aultare, which was then answered by Robert Crowley, who tells us that he thought it his duty "amongst other my labours for the setting forth of the christian faith", to refute Huggard.

The author of the protestant ballad A Pore Helpe, the bukler and

(1) R. Crowley, The confutation of the mishapen Aunswer called the Abuse of the blessed sacrament, (Day and Sares, 1548.)

A vi r and A vii r.

defence of mother holy Kyrke, referred sardonically to Huggard's efforts at defending orthodoxy, but evidently the gossellers thought him persuasive enough to need answering. This balladeer also offers the tantalising piece of information that Gardiner himself had been trying his hand at ballad making. Speaking of the bishop, the writer marvels that some gossellers

"Proudly do presume
Unto the learned man
To answer and they can,
And wene they had the grace
His ballad to deface..." (1)

That Gardiner should have launched into verse shows a remarkable appreciation on the part of that intellectual aristocrat of the key role that was being played by street literature in the battle for popular allegiance. As for the success of his efforts, it would be nice to know whether the poet of A Pore Helpe was being ironic when he remarked that it

"Hath played with them (i.e. the gossellers) checkmate..
And mareth clean the sale
Of all their whole passtime,
And all is done in rhyme..." (2)

Given Gardiner's lack of sympathy with popular taste, one might perhaps suspect irony on the part of the protestant balladeer.

Clearly writing ballads was not the offence for which the bishop was imprisoned in the late summer of 1547 but the Visitation Articles which were the cause of his imprisonment included an item "whether any person hath by writing, ciphiring, printing, preaching or teaching, deed or act, obstinately holden and stand with...the bishop of Rome," (3)

In fact, it was the public act of printing, or preaching, papalist views which most concerned the government. No attempt was made to pursue or harry those who were known to have catholic sympathies, and pro-catholic ballads and tracts continued to circulate in London. Some even appeared in print, (4) But in general, after the spring of 1547, catholic propagandists found it more convenient to have their books published abroad. Smith, as we have seen, continued his propaganda campaign from exile, but Gardiner, who was obliged to remain in London, and who seemed at times to be in real danger, postponed publication of several

(1) A Pore Helpe, The bukler and defence of mother holy Kyrke printed in Remains of the Early Popular Poetry of England, ed. W.C. Hazlitt (1856) for the Library of Old Authors, Vol. III, p. 251 lines 231-4.

(2) A Pore Helpe, ll. 211 and 15-17.

(3) Articles to be enquired of in the Kynge's Maiesties Visitation

(4) See below p. 174.

(Grafton 1547,) A ii r.

works written during his imprisonment. His Exetasis testimoniorum quae Martinus Bucerus ex Sanctis Patribus non sancte edidit was ready for the press in 1548, but it did not appear until 1554, when it was published in Louvain. Huggard did venture into press in 1550 which was a year of such activity within the book trade that he may have hoped to avoid attention. But most of his works circulated in manuscript and do not seem to have caused him any embarrassment. (1)

The tolerance of Somerset's "liberal" regime may have extended to the private expression of conservative, though not of papalist, religious opinions, but it did not permit their publication. Neither did it embrace some of the scurrilous and irreligious rhymes which appeared on the streets in 1547. The Injunctions issued in August of that year complained that "whereas many indiscreet persons do at this day uncharitably contemn and abuse priests and ministers of the church because some of them, (having small learning) have of long time favoured phantasies rather than God's truth.." (2) The article urges that charity be used towards their office. A fine example of the type of lampoon objected to here is Dr.Douuble Ale. This is dated by Hazlitt as late Henrician, but it almost certainly dates from 1547, and may have been the very ballad that called forth this article of the Injunctions. In Skeltonics very similar to those of A Pore Helpe this ballad ridicules a local priest called Harry George, who refused to change his ways,

"For then he must again
Apply him to the school
And come away a fool
For nothing should he get
His brain hath been so het
And with good ale so wet.." (3)

In an attempt to prevent this kind of mockery, and the general slackening in respect for the office of minister which could, and did result, both Proclamations and Injunctions forbade such attacks. (4)

But what was even more alarming in an age when eucharistic orthodoxy was considered to be absolutely essential, was the rash of ballads in which the high points of sacramentary theology were debated

(1) Among other works circulated in manuscript under Edward were Huggard's Metrical Version of the Psalms, his De Profundis, and A treatise declaring How Christ....was banished.

(2) Iniuncctions geuen by the moste excellent Prince, Edwarde the vi (Grafton, 1547.) Item. 33, C iv V.

(3) Dr.Douuble Ale in 'Remains of the Early Popular Poetry' ed.W.C.Hazlitt, Vol.III, p.303, ll.366-371.

(4) See note 2 above
Proclamation against Assaults on the Clergy, 12 Nov.1547, Hughes and Larkin, Vol. 1, p.407, no. 292.

in the most coarse and ribald way. One of the worst of these productions was Luke Shepherd's little pamphlet John Bon and Mast Person, in which a rather simple-minded cleric is berated by a rude rustic for believing in transubstantiation. This tract was printed by John Day, and thanks to Thomas Underhill, we know something of its history. Underhill tell us that "the papists were sore grieved" with it, "specially sir John Gresham, then being mayor. John Day did print the same book, whom the mayor sent for to know the maker thereof, saying he should go to prison for printing the same." Underhill intervened for Day, but Shepherd was sent to the Fleet, another example of the relative immunity of the printers. (1) This vigorous action on the part of the Mayor was probably in response to the Act of November 1547 against "sermons, preachings, readings, lectures, communications, arguments, talks, rhymes, songs, plays or jeasts" abusing the Sacrament of the altar. The penalty for disregarding this prohibition was fine and imprisonment at the King's pleasure. (2)

John Bon was not the only example of this kind of irreligious bill. Several of them were circulating in London at the same time. Of those which survive, two, The upcheringe of the messe, and Marcort's A declaration of the masse, which appeared in two editions, were printed by John Day. The former was produced by Day in partnership with William Seres, but the later appeared under a false imprint, that of the ubiquitous "H.Lufte" of Wittenberg. Another irreligious bill of the same period appeared without an imprint. A dyalogue bytwene a gentylman and a prest appeared in the type of the unlikely Hans Hitprick. The adoption of false imprints, or at least of anonymity, by the radical printers at the end of 1547 was probably a response to the November Act against irreligious debate and the action which followed it. That the act did not have the desired effect was admitted by the proclamation of 27 December, which complained that people were still rashly and contentiously debating the form and nature of the sacrament. Listing some of the arguments being put forward in this debate, it again threatens with imprisonment those who "do contemn, despise, or with unseemly and ungodly words deprave and revile the Holy Sacrament." (3)

(1) N. of R., p.172

(2) 1 Edward VI, cap.1, S.R.Vol. 1V, p.2.

(3) Proclamation 27 Dec. 1547, Hughes and Larkin, Vol.1, p.410, no. 296.

By the end of 1547 the Council had moved several steps away from the wide tolerance extended to the press during the first months of Edward's reign in the direction of a moderate policy of censorship. Action had been taken against the catholic controversialists, against retailers of false news, (1) against anticlerical lampoons and against abuse of the sacrament. This action had been vigorous enough to force radical printers like Day to adopt false imprints, but not to drive them abroad, and after an initial purge the prohibitions on anti-clerical and sacramentary tracts were not enforced. In fact 1548 proved to be a year of great prosperity in the printing trade, with the printers enjoying considerable freedom of expression, and productivity reaching an unprecedented peak. No new restrictions were imposed upon the printers, and almost anything that was not papalist or treasonable could be produced, including trenchant criticism of the ruling group and doctrinal discussion at both a popular and a scholarly level.

This freedom, and the willingness that the government showed to assist foreign refugees, led to a considerable increase in the numbers of printers and binders operating in London. Among the first to swell the ranks of the London printers were two Englishmen who had in all probability been in exile in Germany under Henry VIII. Anthony Scoloker returned to Ipswich from the Continent, where he had probably learnt his craft, and set up a press devoted exclusively to the production of protestant polemic. In 1548 he printed at least twenty-one books, first in Ipswich and then in London, where he went into partnership with William Seres. (2) It seems possible that John Oswen had also been abroad under Henry, and may have met Scoloker on his travels, for he set up a press at Ipswich, at about the time that Scoloker left for London, and printed ten books in 1548, once again, all works of the reformers. (3) Hugh Singleton celebrated his return with the publication in 1548 of four books, but his sojourn abroad, if

(1) See chapter 1 p. 31.

(2) Figures given for the output of individual printers are necessarily based on the number of copies which have survived. To these totals, based on the information in the S.T.C., I have added any books which are definitely stated to have been printed in contemporary sources such as the Stationer's Registers. Obviously we are dealing with only a proportion of a printers' total output, but that proportion seems to have been stable enough, throughout the printing community and throughout the period, to give useful figures. The figures will have to be adjusted when the revised version of the S.T.C. is complete.

(3) For further information about Oswen see below p. 196.

indeed he had been in exile, must have been a relatively brief one, for he was still in his early twenties.

Contemporary with Singleton, though certainly not an Henrician exile, was John Day, who had begun printing on his own account in 1546 with three books, but increased his output to a remarkable total of thirty nine known productions in 1548. William Seres, who was associated with both Scoloker and Day in the printing of popular propaganda, had a hand in at least thirty-six books, and a relatively obscure printer called Robert Stoughton launched into print with seven titles. (1)

These radical young printers were joined by other newcomers, possibly attracted to the trade by its obvious prosperity and excitement. Some were no doubt already members of the printing community, who had been working as journeymen for other stationers, and now took the opportunity of a trade boom to venture into small scale printing on their own account. As the increased demand was mainly for pamphlets and tracts, the production of which did not require a great deal of capital, these years offered a unique opportunity to the jobbing printer. William Copland, for example, inherited his father's business in 1547 and took the opportunity of the Edwardian boom to print on a large scale. In the sixties, however, he ran into serious financial difficulties, and it seems likely that his business was always dangerously short of capital. Humphrey Powell, a member of a large printing family, also began work in 1548 with an output of six books, but like Copland, he suffered from a chronic shortage of funds, and never again achieved such a large output. (2) Despite these financial difficulties, Copland and Powell managed to stay in business during the lean years of Mary's reign and into Elizabeth's. But several of the poorer printers whose names appeared on one or two books in the prosperous year of 1548 were never again able to print on their own account. For example, three books appeared in that year with Roger Car's name on them, although Car almost certainly did not own a press, and his name never appeared on any books after 1548. One book survives with the name William Tylle on it, but once again, we know nothing more of him. The two booksellers Anthony Smith and William Riddael each

(1) See below p. 206.

(2) See below p. 196.

commissioned one book in 1548 but were rarely in a position to repeat the enterprise. (1)

The printing community in London, already swollen by these native printers, was further enlarged by the arrival of refugee book workers, fleeing from persecution in the Imperial cities.* In many of these cities the printers were heavily committed to reform, and as a result the book trades figured largely among the refugees. Most of these immigrant workers were of journeymen status and found employment in the English printing houses, being prohibited from independent trading by their alien status, and in many cases by lack of funds. Several, however, found their way to the workshops of Dutch printers already established in London, in particular to those of Nicholas Hill and Walter Lynne. Lynne had been in England since 1540 and was well established as a bookseller and translator, acquiring in 1547 the additional protection of a royal patent for all his productions. (2) In 1549 he was joined by the prolific and influential Dutch printer, Steven Mierdman and these two acted as hosts to numbers of refugee workers. In 1550 Mierdman protected himself against the difficulties encountered by alien craftsmen by taking letters of denization, and also acquiring a royal license. Mierdman and Lynne were both members of the Strangers' Church which was eventually established at Austin Friars. Also a member of this church, and indeed listed as a "senior", was another Dutch printer, Nicholas Hill. Hill had come to London in 1519 and had eventually become a denizon in 1544, but his hospitality towards religious refugees suggests that he had remained a Dutchman at heart. Singleton's willingness to find work for these fugitive workers may have owed something to the years he had spent on the continent in a similar predicament. (3)

We know that at least half a dozen of these foreign bookworkers settled in London during the course of 1548, but there were almost certainly many more. Unfortunately, it is impossible to be precise about their numbers because there were no returns of Aliens for that year. The returns of the following year show a remarkable total of twenty eight immigrant book workers not previously listed as active

(1) For Riddael's printing efforts under Mary see below p. 252.

(2) See below p. 321.

(3) Further details of these printers, see below pp. 197 ff.

in London. The reason for this flood of refugees must have been the Imperial victory at Muhlberg and the Interim of Augsburg, in which case most of these workers probably arrived in London sometime in the latter half of 1548, their escape having followed on the Interim of May of that year. But the earliest details we have of these migrants date from the following year. We do, however have details of five foreign stationers who arrived in London early enough in Edward's reign to be included in the returns of 1547. Henry Arnoldt, a Dutch printer, settled in Thames Street in 1547/8 and probably took letters of denization in that year. John Loye was listed in the returns as being in the service of Thomas Purflytte in 1547 and by 1549 had moved on to Hester's shop. Dereck Lyvedalle, a stationer from Flanders, arrived in England in 1547, and at the same time two other foreign workers were found employment by Richard Grafton. Henry Salt, a Dutch bookbinder and printer, who had arrived in London by 1547, was probably the same man as the Henry Soull, listed in 1549 as in Grafton's employ. Also with Grafton at this time was a type-setter from Cleveland, called Jacob Woelfaert. (1)

The addition of these foreign workers to the already expanding body of native craftsmen pushed the number of printers actually producing books up from about twenty five known from surviving copies to have been operating in 1546 and 1547, to the remarkable total of thirty nine printers in business in London in 1548. Moreover, several of these thirty nine printers were working on a larger scale than ever before, so that the number of books more than doubled, from the hundred or so editions known to have been printed in 1546 and 1547, to about two hundred and 25 works printed in London in 1548. (2)

This vast increase in the output of the London presses was accounted for almost entirely by the production of protestant polemic. The prolific workshops of Day, Lynne, Oswen, Jugge, William Hill, Thomas Raynalde, Scoloker, and Seres were all devoted exclusively to the publication of reforming literature, and their output covered the whole gamut of religious writing. Scriptural productions included five Tyndale New Testaments and quantities of biblical exposition. (3)

(1) See Appendix II, based on E.J.Worman, Alien members of the Book-Trade during the Tudor period, (Bibliographical Society.1906)

(2) For example, Thomas Raynalde produced 15 books in 1548, more than twice his normal output even in a good year.

(3) e.g. A notable collection of divers and sōdry places of the sacred scriptures, (Scoloker and Seres.) A bryefe summe of the whole Byble, (Scoloker.)
L.Ridley, An Expositiō in Englishe upon the Epistle to the Colossions (Grafton)
Tyndale, An Expositiō upon the v.vi.vii chapters of Mathew (Day & Seres)

Foreign theologians were represented by Bullinger, Calvin, Luther, Melancthon, Ochino, Decolampadius, Osiander, Regius and Zwingli, while Cranmer, Frith, Lambert and Tyndale represented native writers. On a more popular level, vast quantities of Bala were produced, at least seven of his works being printed in 1548, and the controversy loving public were further entertained by productions of Kethe, Mardely, Ramsey and Turner. If we add to the list of religious publications liturgical works such as the order of Communion, of which Grafton printed two editions, Sternhold's Psalms, printed by Whitchurch, and the Primer, also by Whitchurch, and if we also include the social tracts of Robert Crowley, Nicolls and others, we find that of the total output of the presses for the year 1548, an astonishing 80% were works of protestant polemic.

There is no doubt that many of the printers who contributed to this vast outpouring of protestant literature were themselves committed to the reformed religion, and were using their presses with a missionary purpose. (1) It is also clear that the Edwardian Council encouraged a campaign of protestant education. Nevertheless for religious literature to have been produced on this scale, there must have been a voracious demand for such works from the London public. Some of this demand no doubt came from committed protestants, but these still represented only a small section of the city community and cannot account by themselves for this bonanza of spiritual instruction. Obviously, serious spiritual enquiry must have been the motivation of many purchasers outside the protestant camp, but clearly there were many other non-religious motives encouraging people to buy religious tracts on such an unprecedented scale.

One of the strongest characteristics of the London populace revealed by this orgy of pamphlet reading was the love of controversy. Londoners flocked to sermons, or seized on the latest tract, not necessarily in the hope of saving their souls, but often in the hope of seeing eminent men setting about one another in a kind of intellectual prize fight. Unfortunate errors, or weak arguments were seized upon with relish by the public, and made much of in subsequent sermons and pamphlets. A fine example of this kind of thing survives in a tasteless little tract called A Caveat for the Christians agaynst the

(1) For an analysis of the religious views of the printers, see below p. 184.

Archpapist, which was printed by John Walley in 1548. In this, the pamphleteer picks up an unfortunate phrase used by Gardiner in his sermon at Paul's Cross, which the pamphleteer considered had not been adequately answered in subsequent sermons. The phrase in question was "consecrating himself in remembrance of himself". With a conspicuous display of linguistic erudition, the writer scores a number of debating points against Gardiner, aimed at forcing him back to the biblical text. He marvels that the bishop, "a man no less ware than wily, no less wily than circumspect, no less circumspect than worldly wise", should have made such an obvious blunder before so learned a company; and expresses pious and insincere hopes for his spiritual emendation. This tract had the obvious advantages of topicality and malice, and these two attractions must have accounted at least as much as spiritual content for the popularity of many of these leaflets. (1) It also shared with a number of other productions of 1548 the virtue of an intriguing title. Among other pamphlets on sale at the same time as A Caveat, were Ramsey's Plaister for a galled horse and A corosyfe to be layed unto the hartes, Kethe's Fall of the whore of Babylone, and two tracts on the sacrament, Pathose, or an inward passion of the pope for the losse of hys daughter the masse, and A briefe recantacion of maystres Missa.

But if topicality, malice and a flair for self advertisement accounted for the popularity of many of the less serious works, there appears also to have been a genuine excitement among ordinary lay folk at the phenomenon of high matters of doctrine and church government being laid open to them, and explained to them. It was clear that Somerset's government sincerely wanted their concurrence in, as well as their obedience to, the new religious order, and the public enjoyed the unusual experience of being consulted. It was this democratisation of the religious debate that Gardiner most feared, as undermining respect for and deference to the authority of the Church and its institutions. Paget, as we have seen, objected to such popularist policies on principle. But Somerset, Cranmer, and those who shared their ideal of conversion through education and example, seem to have been prepared to risk a degree of irreligion in order to reach as wide a public as possible. Nicholls, in his sermon of the

(1) A Caveat for the Christians, (1548.) A iii v. and iv.r.

twelve men that Moses sent to spy, gave expression to this missionary view.

"Understand now gentle reader, that when I was about to write this matter that I have taken in hand, I considered what a number of books there be abroad in every man's hand, of divers and sundry matters which are very greedily devoured of a great sort. Who so laboureth both writing and reading I do very much commend. But are the labours of all such writer thankfully received, trow ye ? Are their diligence and study gratified accordingly ? or doth every man read with such purpose and intent that the commonwealth of christ's flock might thereby be profited and the people reduced to a christian conversation and amendment of life, as the author intended ? Do they read with such judgement that they receive the good and reject the bad ? No, no. The weightier matter the sooner passed over and the less thank of the author. But trifling matters finely handled are esteemed.... But what then; should the writers therefore leave writing because the most part do not worthily receive it ? God forbid. But rather would I wish that those which never wrote before should also set themselves to work bestowing the talent that god hath lent them to the most advantage." (1)

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2. Bills and Ballads, 1547-50

The boom in printing of 1548, caused by liberal government policies and the influx of refugees, brought a period of temporary and illusory prosperity to many of the smaller printers, but in the long run it added to an already difficult economic situation. The inflation which caused widespread distress in Edward's reign was aggravated for the printers by a fall in the price of books, so that while the costs continued to rise, the returns were steadily decreasing. The arrival of the refugees, and the subsequent flooding of the market, had the effect of still further depressing prices.

(1) P.Nicolls, Here begynneth a godly newe story of xii men that moyses sent to spy out the land of Canaan. (1548. William Hill)
A iii v., A iiii r & v.

Years later, Christopher Barker was to describe the economic difficulties faced by printers during Edward's reign. (1)

Those printers who possessed a royal licence were able to overcome these difficulties by monopolising a particular area of the market, but for the small unpatented printer there was no way out of the dilemma. As Barker observed, they must "either want necessary living, or print books, pamphlets and other trifles, more dangerous than profitable." (2)

We have already seen that printers who found themselves in economic difficulties tended to turn to the broadside for a quick return on a limited outlay. The enthusiasm for such productions, which began to circulate in London immediately after the death of Thomas Cromwell, continued unabated through the reign of Edward and into that of Mary. Not all of them were anti-establishment pieces. Indeed, the reign saw some of the earliest printed examples of those royalist ballads that were to become so popular under Mary and Elizabeth. The first to appear was A lamentation of the death of Henry the eyght, which was printed for the stationer Turke, probably by Bankes. This was followed by a loyal ballad, Sing, up heart, which was produced for the coronation of Edward and apparently remained popular throughout his reign. (3) It was almost certainly printed as a broadside.

Ballads were produced to accompany most royal events and pageants, and in the same way broadside prayers were printed to deal with most emergencies. Several survive from Edward's reign, one being a general prayer of the protestant community, beginning Lorde omnipotent and moste mercyfull father... This was printed by Jugge, probably in 1550. All the other surviving Edwardian prayers were concerned with the health of the King, but others were almost certainly circulated in times of plague or death. (4)

Also non-controversial were the news-sheets and "monster" bills of which the public were so fond. "Monster" bills usually described

(1) Arber, Transcripts, Vol.1, p xx. For complete quotation see above

(2) Arber, Transcripts, Vol.1, p. 115.

p.9.

(3) Strype, E.M., Vol.11, part 2, pp 329-330.

(4) eg^o Lord, for thy mercye sake, save the Kynq. (J.Day, 1549).

Prayer sayd in the Kinges chappell in the tyme of hys sicknes,

(W.Copland, 1553, June.)

The prayer of K.Edward VI which he made the vi July 1553,

(R.Jugge.)

unnatural births and were often accompanied by crude woodcuts showing the oddities of the unfortunate progeny. A fine example survives from Edward's reign in the Double chylde born at Middleton, 1550 (?) This was probably the same sheet as that referred to by Wriothsesley in 1548 when he describes the birth of siamese twins which had occurred at Amsterdam, "and the print brought into England." (1) Presumably some enterprising London printer had observed the popularity of this bill and brought out his own edition of it.

Only two news-sheets survive for the Edwardian period, but it seems likely that they were in fact produced in considerable numbers. The two which we have are A ballad on the defeat of the Devon and Cornwall rebels and Wonderful news of the death of Paul the iij. The public's appetite for news was phenomenal, and in times of stir or insecurity every publication which might give news, including royal proclamations, was eagerly sought. The writer of the letter containing certain news of the Devonshire and Cornish rebels, a copy of which was printed by Whitchurch, thanked his London correspondent for sending him a copy of the King's reply to the rebel's petition, and added, "(I pray you) if any such like things come forth in print, I may have some sent me with the first (i.e. the King's Reply). and if you will speak to the King's printer in my name I dare say he will not deny you."

The skilful manipulation of information at times of unrest was one of the most effective weapons in the hands of the government, and both Somerset's and Mary's councils proved themselves adept at it. (2)

Even in those news sheets that were not as overtly partisan as the official and loyalist propaganda put out in times of unrest, the news was seldom allowed to appear unadorned. To justify their pandering to the curiosity of a fickle public, writers commonly interlarded their news with solemn warnings of God's wrath, and moral lessons of every kind. But there was also a specific genre of morality ballads, given over entirely to lamentations of the state of the world. The works of Skelton set the mood for these laments, and he remained one of the most popular English poets throughout this period. His ballad The Maner of of the World Now A Dayes was printed by Copland in c.1550 and contained all the usual complaints of the corruption of justice, the merciless arrogance of the rich and the unrelieved wretchedness of the poor.

(1) Wriothsesley, Vol.11, p.6.

(2) See Chapter 111.

It also included a topical cry,

" So much preaching,
Speaking fair and teaching
And so ill believing
Saw I never." (1)

Also in 1550, Richard Kele printed Thomas Knelle's An a.b.c. to the christen conragacion, and the previous year had seen the production of William Kethe's Of misrule contending, with gods word by name. This was apparently written in response to the risings of 1549, and warns of God's judgement on Sodom and Gamorrah if the people prefer misrule to God's word and true obedience. This broadside was printed by Singleton. Probably of the same type was Underhill's ballad attacking the rakes with whom he had been used to associate before he saw the light. It was this piece which had earned him the name of "hot gospeller", and it is possible that it was printed by Day, for Underhill seems to have been on close terms with that printer. If it did appear in print, it was probably circulating at the end of Henry's reign, or the first year of Edward's, though the precise date of Underhill's conversion is unknown.

Most morality ballads tended to place the blame on mankind in general rather than to seek for specific reasons for the moral decline they saw around them. But Edward's reign was one in which an unusually large number of books, pamphlets and bills appeared attacking the ruling clique for misgovernment, and criticising both the policies and the morality of those in power. The ballad controversy of 1552 began as just such an attack on the standards of the ruling party, but soon degenerated into the kind of personal bickering and tomfoolery which had overtaken the Grey-Smith controversy of 1540. The ballads in this group appear to have been printed twice, once in 1552 and again in 1560, and are found assigned variously to either of these dates. I assume that any found with a 1560 imprint was originally printed in 1552, even if no copy of the earlier edition survives, for the argument is a developing, or perhaps we should say, degenerating one, and the topical references are all of the Edwardian period. The first of the series, Davy Dycar's Dreame by Thomas Churchyard, was printed by Lant, and protested against the corruption of the Court. It looks forward to the time when

(1) The Maner of the World Now A Dayes, printed in Old Ballads, ed. J.P. Collier for the Percy Society's 'Early English Poetry, Ballads etc,' (1842.) Vol.1, p.2.

"Rex doth reign and rule the roost, and weeds out wicked men....
When justice joins to truth, and law looks not to mead,
And bribes help not to build fair bowers, nor gifts great
gluttons feed..." (1)

Such open criticism of the government was rather risky even under Edward, but the only result appears to have been that T. Camel took up his pen to reply on behalf of the establishment. In his reply, To David Dicars when, he advises Churchyard to be satisfied with the status quo, and not to ask impertinent questions of the powerful, since high matters of state are none of his business, "and let not the foot make murmer and cry / to ask why our head is placed so high." Camel's broadside was printed by Harry Sutton at the sign of the Black Boy in St. Paul's Churchyard. (2)

This was hardly a satisfactory reply to Churchyard's accusations of corruption, and in A Replicacion to Camel s Obiection he impugnes Camel's motives for writing, suggesting that he was in the pay of one of the very nobles to whom he, Churchyard, had been objecting.

"You thought to obtain some garment or gift,
Then did you invent, to make foul shift,
To flatter the Gods, and get a new coat
That made you to sing so merry a note." (3)

Once again Churchyard was skating on thin ice, and in Camelles Reioindre, to Churchyarde his rival drops a veiled warning that the poet would be wise to "defend not a when might put you to pains." And so the debate continued, with Churchyard's The Surreioindre unto Camel's reioindre, Camelles conclusion and A Playn and fynall confutacion of Camells Corlyke Oblatracion, which was printed by Griffith and is assigned to 1560. It may have been a later addition to the original controversy, though Griffith had just started work at the Griffin in 1552. The other ballads in the main argument were all printed by Sutton and Lant.

Alongside this verbal battle a humorous subplot developed in rustic doggeral, in which great play was made of Camel's unfortunate name. The first of these productions was William Powell's little pamphlet, Westerne Wyll Upon the Debate betwyxte Churchyarde and Camell, which began "Rowe thy bote, thou joly joly maryner". In this three simple-minded sailors from Maldon visit a London stationer, but being unable to read, ask him to read them the latest gossip. He reads them Davy Dicar's Dreame, but he has not got far when an

(1) Society of Antiquaries' first Book of Broad sides, No.20.

(2) Ibid. No.21.

(3) Ibid. No.22. This was printed by Lant.

argument breaks out between the sailors and they leave the shop, having paid a groat to have a ballad read to them which they could have bought for a penny. "Goodman Gefferay Chappell of Whipstable" was the next combatant, his A Supplicacion unto Mast Camell being printed by Lant. He was answered in the same broad dialect in Sutton's next bill, To Goodman Chappells Supplication, which declares mystically,

"Harry Whoball harke, mast Camell hath yzeene
Thy vengeance zorybill and thompes the as I were
Thomas Camell."

The farce continued with Steven Steple to Mast Camell, M. Harry Whobals mon to M. Camell, greetes him, by Richard Beard, and W. Copland's contribution, Alphabetum primum Beeardi. (1)

One final poem has to be considered before we can leave this controversy, though it was scarcely in the same class as these doggeral rhymes. T. Hedley's ballad Of such as on fantesye decree and discuss; On other mens works, lo Ovids tale thus, which was printed by Sutton, told the story of the judgement of Midas. Which of the two bards he thought was Pan and which Apollo he does not say; the asses ears were presumably intended for the reading public.

By the time Hedley closed the contest with this appropriate analogy, the controversy had lost any political content. But it had opened as a political debate, and could well have been considered subversive. The criticism of Northumberland's regime in Davy Dicar's Dreame was clear enough. More obviously subversive was an interesting bill that appeared probably at the beginning of 1549, a year in which mounting social tensions and the coup d'etat of October resulted in the appearance of a number of seditious bills. This broadside, entitled Questions worthy to be consulted on for the weale publyque, was listed by Lemon as Henrician, but appears in fact to have been Edwardian. When speaking of the prerogative power it places it with "the King and this Council" and in another place it asks "Whether any profit hath ensued of the last Statute made for beggars and vagabonds." This is probably a reference to the Statute for Vagabonds, I Edward VI, cap. 3, the ferocity of which clearly outran public opinion, so that the government was obliged to modify it in a proclamation of 1551 (2) Other references in this bill suggest that it was intended as a criticism of Somerset's rule. The question "Whether princely buildings of goodly

(1) Ibid. Nos. 24 - 32.

(2) Hughes and Larkin, vol. I, p. 514, no. 371, April 28, 1551.

houses doth more beautify a realm than repairing decayed Towns doth beautify the "same" must surely be an allusion to the building works at Somerset House, which were so much resented by Londoners for the destruction they entailed. The bill is in fact a bitter complaint at the perversion of justice and at corruption in high places. It asks,

"Whether the said process (i.e. the Common Law) is daily abused as well in court as at the Sherrif his hands..
Whether the lack of good laws hath been more the decay of this realm than the negligence of princes...
Whether good laws can be ordained and made where evil men of law shall be chief of Council..
Whether hypocrisy, fained religion called and wicked laws called Cacanomia might be put out of this Realm without council of Avaricia..
Whether the divines and learned in God's laws setting forth God's word after their own fantasies ought all to be believed... "

This highly seditious bill survives in the Society of Antiquaries' first book of broadsides (No.15) in three strips, ending abruptly at the very bottom of the third, suggesting that there may well have been more in the same vein. It is unusual in that it survives despite its hostile content, but the method of using questions to highlight grievances was a popular one. (1) The question form gave the writer some defence against accusations of sedition, since no actual statement of dissent was involved.

There is no imprint on Questions worthy to be consulted, but it seems to have come from the press of Henry Smith. All Smith's dated works are from the year 1545/6, and he appears to have died late in 1550, but it is likely that his death was premature, and he may well have been in business between 1546 and 1550. Smith worked without Temple Bar at the sign of the Trinity in St.Clement's Parish, and dealt mainly in law books. This bill, which was probably written by a law student, and was obviously aimed at the legal community, would have appealed to his clientele, while most of the other law printers were too respectable and established to have handled such a dangerous piece. Typographical evidence also points to Smith as the probable printer. The typeface used in the broadside was identical to one used by Smith in his 1546 edition of Intrationum liber and has a large

(1) Another example of this kind of bill survives from Mary's reign entitled Certayne Questions Demanded and asked by the Noble Realme of Englande. See below p.280.

ornamental f, which belonged to a set of Whitchurch's, but was used by Smith in that edition of Intrationum. The small italic used in the bill was also one of Smith's types. (1) Whether Smith himself was responsible for issuing this bill, or whether it was the work of one of his household, or associates, got out perhaps during Smith's last illness, is hard to say.

1549 was a year in which seditious bills proliferated. Some were thrown up by the risings of the spring and summer, such as the "false and seditious advertisement of the alteration of Religion" which was dispersed in the WestCountry by the ecclesiastical commissary, Mr. Blakston. (2) At the same time the Council was bringing pressure to bear upon the church authorities in Exeter to help the Mayor find those who had scattered seditious handbills in the streets of that city. These bills were probably circulated in manuscript, like a dangerous little bill which was found nailed to doors in London shortly after Boulogne had been given up, saying that "Boulogne was given up so that the new sects might be encouraged, and that those who did the deed shall suffer for it." (3) Somerset complained that his enemies in the council were responsible for spreading this rumour, and for saying that he was withholding the soldiers' wages. (4) But when it became apparent that his own position was in jeopardy, Somerset himself did not hesitate to appeal directly to the people in bills produced by his supporters and scattered throughout London. These broadsides were of the most dangerous and rabble rousing variety, urging the people to fight for the Lord protector, and the Council was highly indignant at such tactics. On October 6th they discussed the problem of the "most seditious bills which he had devised for that purpose." (i.e. the raising of the commons), and on the 10th a proclamation was issued by the Council in London against putting forth of seditious bills and papers for aiding the traitorous acts of the Duke of Somerset. (5) Wriothesley describes how this proclamation was communicated to the city;

"Also this day in the afternoon was an assembly
of all the common of the city having liveries,

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- (1) The bill is printed in a textura 95, with h¹; s²; w^{5a}; and y². For an example of the face and one of the capitals, see F.S. Isaac, English and Scottish Printing Types, (Oxford, 1932,) fig. 77.
 - (2) Troubles Connected. p. 18.
 - (3) Span. Cal., Vol. X, p. 177.
 - (4) Somerset to Lord Russell, October 6 Troubles Connected, p. 82.
 - (5) A.P.C., Vol. 11, p. 331.
Dom. Cal, Edward VI, Vol. 1X, No. 40.

where was read in the Guildhall a letter sent from the Lords concerning the casting abroad of divers libels touching the Lords, my Lord Mayor and the Aldermen and all the city of London, exhorting all the citizens to be circumspect to search and find out such persons as wrote and endited them." (1)

This seems to refer to the last sentence of the Henry A. bill, "And as for London called Troy untrue, Merlin saith that 23 Aldermen of hers shall lose their heads in one day, which God grant be shortly, amen." (2) This bill was clearly a manuscript letter, an example of it remaining in the State Papers, and Wriothsesley's account mentions enditers but not printers, so it seems likely that all of these bills supporting Somerset were manuscript. The crisis was probably too sudden for any to be printed, though Somerset had enough friends among the printers to have found someone willing to take a risk for him. If they were not printed the scriveners must have been kept very busy, for the Council was in fear of a commotion "through those seditious bills, whereof they were continually more and more informed." (3) It seems that the matter was not allowed to drop, for two years later a certain parson Metcalf was examined by the Earl of Westmorland "whether he were one of the writers of the seditious bills thrown abroad two or three years past." The bills indicated here would seem to have been the Somerset bills. (4)

The Protector's action in appealing directly to the commons was almost universally condemned by his colleagues and, by alienating Herbert and Russel, played a significant part in his downfall. Writing to Somerset on 8th October, these two complained "Your Grace's proclamations and billets put abroad for the raising of the commons we mislike very much" as tending to civil strife. (5) But if seditious bills had flourished during the Protector's regime they did not cease with his downfall. On the contrary Northumberland fought a bitter and increasingly unsuccessful battle against hostile bills and rumours throughout his term of power. In 1550 the Council had to take action to deal with bills strewn around in Bristol, Colchester and Chelmsford,

(1) Wriothsesley, Vol.11, p.26. 10 October.

(2) See Appendix I.

(3) A.P.C., Vol.11, p.332,

(4) A.P.C., Vol.1V, p.163.

(5) Troubles Connected, p.92

and was also obliged to investigate four men for bringing "certain false news of great importance against the King's Majesty and the realm." The following year similar libels were scattered in the Tower, and in October 1552 one Hawkins was discovered to have been writing bills. These all appear to have been manuscript productions, and in the case of the Bristol bill the Mayor was instructed "to enquire the authors of the said bills by comparison of writings." (1)

That Northumberland deeply resented these libels is demonstrated by the violent retribution visited upon those who did venture to print a hostile ballad. In 1552 William Marten, a stationer who shared the premises of the Black Boy with Henry Sutton, ventured to print a ballad by John Lawton. The offensive ballad does not survive but it must have been pretty virulent for both writer and printer were summoned to appear before the Council. Lawton was condemned to stand on the Pillory the next market day "with a paper on his head containing in great letters these words 'A seditious Vagabond' and..after to be whipped out of the city." Marten, as usual, escaped more lightly, being bound in £100 and ordered "to bring in as many of the same ballads as he may come by." (2)

By 1552 Northumberland, faced with a rising tide of public hostility, had become almost obsessed with the need to silence criticism. The prisons were overflowing with people accused of lewd words, songs and prophecies against the Duke, and persistent rumours that the King was dead, that Northumberland had poisoned him, that he was minting coins with a ragged staff and that the currency was once again to be debased were met with proclamations and prosecutions, but to little avail. (3) Bills abusing the Duke must have been common at this time but none have survived, and we depend on contemporary references, such as the one to Lawton's ballad mentioned above, for information about them. For example, in April 1551 the Recorder brought in certain "books and bills of slanderous devises against the Council", and the proclamation of May 20 against such bills described "many slanderous and wicked bills, as well against the King's majesty's most honourable council, as against other

(1) A.P.C. Vol.11, p.421, 111, pp.138, 161, 50.
Dom. Cal., Edward VI, Vol. XV, No.34.

(2) A.P.C. Vol. 1V, pp. 69 & 70.

(3) A.P.C. Vol. 111, pp. 375, 462.
Machyn, p.35.

N. of R. p.159. For Government action, see Chapter 1, p.33.

noble personages within this realm." (1) Possibly the printed paper which the Mayor of Rochester took from the Frenchman Francis Oliver was also a libel against Northumberland. (2)

But if Northumberland was hated more bitterly than any other member of Edward's Council, he was not the only public figure to suffer personal attack at the hands of the bill mongers. The reforming clerics took their fair share of abuse, and on one occasion Underhill was obliged to jump to the defence of Hooper whom he considered "was too much abused with railing bills cast into the pulpit" of St. Magnus Church. (3) Underhill replied in kind, pinning his ballad to St. Paul's Gate and also to St. Magnus's, thus earning himself the nickname of "Hooper's champion" to add to the earlier one of "hot gospeller." Dr. Haddon, president of Magdalen College; Oxford also came in for personal attack from Julins Palmer, at this time a staunch catholic, who wrote slanderous libels and railing verses against him and fixed them to the walls and doors throughout the college. Bishop Rugg was also subjected to personal abuse. (4)

But where personal attacks were concerned Stephen Gardiner remained the most popular butt, his misfortunes under Edward earning him perhaps a little more respect, but not much more affection. In March 1547 he described to Paget how "the brethren have made a balet and solace themselves in it where Bonner lamenteth the fall of Winchester." (5) This bill, which evidently greeted Gardiner's difficulties with glee, was probably printed but has not survived. But another Gardiner bill, which took the form of a double ballad and was printed in 1548, is still extant. (6) In this case it seems likely that the first and more sympathetic set of verses had been offered to the printer, who had then supplied the answering stanzas to make it up to a broadside and add controversial interest. Even so the second ballad attacking the bishop lacks the venom commonly found in Gardiner bills. The broadside is signed H.S., but it is difficult to tell whether these are the initials of the printer or of the author. Of the three Edwardian printers with these initials, Henry Sutton does not appear to have started work this early,

(1) A.P.C., Vol. lll, p. 262. Proclamation, Hughes & Larkin, Vol. 1, p. 522, no. 374.

(2) A.P.C. Vol. lll, p. 497.

(3) N of R. p. 158.

(4) Foxe, Vol. Vlll, p. 203.

(5) Muller, p. 270.

(6) Society of Antiquaries first Book of Broad-sides, No. 17.

Henry Smith normally concentrated on law books, and Hugh Singleton, though heavily involved in the religious controversy, seems to be ruled out on typographical grounds. (1) The typographical evidence seems in fact to point to Lant. (2) Such evidence would be supported by Lant's tendency to concentrate on the broadside trade, and also by his conservative religious views, which would account for the unusually sympathetic tone of the bill. If Lant were the printer, the H.S. must refer to the author of either or both sets of verses.

Bills attacking such eminent figures in the religious debate as Gardiner and Hooper inevitably contained a degree of religious content, but there were also a large number of bills circulating in Edwardian London on purely religious topics. For example, in the spring of 1547 there were evidently printed bills abroad in which the observances of Lent were ridiculed. Gardiner described them in a letter which he wrote to Somerset in May of that year. "What rhymes be set forth to deprave Lent," he complained, "and how fond (saving your Grace's honour) and foolish. And yet people pay money for them." (3) Unfortunately none of these ballads have survived, and a similar fate has overtaken all the ballads that are known to have been produced on the topic of the sacrament. Ridley later recalled how "there were at St. Paul's and divers other places, fixed railing bills against the sacrament, terming it 'Jack of the box', 'the sacrament of the halter', 'round Robin' with such like unseemly terms." (4) The Greyfriars Chronicler also records "many ballads made of divers parties against the blessed sacrament, one against another." (5) Thomas Jolye, coming up to London in January 1549 on business for the Earl of Cumberland, reported, "Here be many lewd books made daily, and much disputation of the sacrament of the altar". No broadside ballads on the subject of the sacrament have survived, but we do have several extant ballads on the sacrament in the form of pamphlets; the subject was clearly one which required a more lengthy exposition than could be achieved on a broadside. Probably several of the lamented sacreligious rhymes were in fact booklets like

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- (1) None of the type faces listed by Isaac as belonging to Singleton fits this bill. (F.S. Isaac, Printing Types, figs. 113-119.)
 - (2) The bill is printed in a textura 110-115₃ (variation caused by irregular spacing) with a top serif s, v³, w² and y², and with a roman W. A textura 113 identical in every respect except the W was later used by Lant's collaborator Riddael. The Roman W was very characteristic of Lant.
 - (3) Muller, p. 281.
 - (4) Ridley's account of his sermon on the sacrament, given in 1555 Foxe, Vol. VII, p. 523.
 - (5) Greyfriars, p. 57.

Punt's Ballade made against the pope and popery. This ballad, which was described by Ames in his Typographical Antiquities (1) was probably the 8^o pamphlet entitled A new dialogue called the endightment agaynste mother Messe which was printed by W.Hill and W.Seres in December 1548. Punt was apparently quite a prolific poet, but most of his works probably appeared as pamphlets rather than broadsides. Another sacramentary bill was Scoloker's translation of the German dialogue A goodly dysputacion betwene a christen Shomaker and a Popyshe Parson which was printed by Scoloker and Seres in 1548.

Also printed at this time were the first examples^{the} of "last word" ballads which were to become very popular under Elizabeth, in which the sufferings and patience of protestant martyrs were celebrated. The metynge of Doctor Barons and doctor Powell at Paradise gate, was not, as the title suggests, a venomous attack on either Barnes or Powell, but a brief lament for the sufferings of the gospellers under Henry. The Anne Askew literature, and the Ballad of Nicholas Balthorpe also fall within this category.

The low survival rate of bills and broadsides makes it difficult to estimate exactly how many of the printers dealt in such publications. We know of ballads published by Banks, Lant, William Hill, Singleton, Day, Smith (?), Kele, Jugge, Copland, Waley, Seres, Marten, H.Sutton, Griffith, W.Powell, and even Thomas Gaultier, King's printer in French. Among surviving bills the names of Lant, Copland and Henry Sutton appear most frequently, but John Day may well have been responsible for several of the more radical bills which have not survived. In October he was called before the Council, possibly in connection with the publication of bills.

As one would expect, none of the wealthier, established printers took part in the production of this street literature. Tottle was exclusively occupied in the production of Law books, and Whitchurch and Grafton were busy supplying the country with Prayer Books. The older Henrician printers like Berthelet and Middleton also seem to have held aloof from such printing. But even so the list of printers known to have been involved in this area of the market comes to the large total of sixteen, and given a survival rate of well under 50%, suggests that nearly all the printers, with the few exceptions mentioned above, produced at least an occasional bill. Given the social and religious

(1) 1819, Vol. IV, p.323n.

upheavals of the period, the spread of literacy among the common people in the city, the fall in the price of books and bills and the economic pressures driving the printers to produce street literature, the proliferation of such bills was to be expected. By now the London populace had acquired the taste for penny bills, and both demand and supply continued unabated through Mary's reign and into Elizabeth's, when the genuine fairing ballad began to be printed.

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3. Northumberland

The first three years of Edward's reign saw an unusual degree of tolerance extended towards those who criticised the policies of the government in public. This tolerance had its roots in certain political and educational ideals shared by Somerset and his fellow humanists, and could be expected to give way before the more pragmatic and realistic rule of the Duke of Northumberland. But in fact, several months before Somerset fell from power, events had compelled him to take several steps towards censorship. Among the dozens of tracts to come off the presses in 1548 were a considerable number containing detailed criticism of the government's social and economic policies. The most famous of these were the works of the social reformer, poet and notable Elizabethan preacher, Robert Crowley. Crowley was at this time in business as a stationer, and had access to a press, which he used to publish four works in 1548, including An informacion and petition agaynst the oppressours of the pore Commons. In these pamphlets Crowley gave vivid expression to the grievances which had been besetting the common people for several decades. (1) Other Edwardian reformers also addressed themselves to these familiar complaints, producing pamphlets like Certayne causes gathered together wherein is shewed the decaye of England onely by the great multitude of sheepe, Brinkelow's Lamentacyon of a christen Agaynst the Cytys of London for certayne greate vyces used therein, which was reprinted anonymously by Thomas Raynalde, (2) and Nicolls' Godly newe story of xii men that moyses sent. To these protestant reformers the evils of the day were

(1) Jordan, The Young King, pp. 416 - 426.

(2) Presumably the city authorities did not share the government's tolerance of criticism.

rendered doubly shocking by the fact that they were continuing under a protestant government, which should have ushered in a reign of Christian charity and purity of life. This was an open slander to the gospel, and one which catholic polemicists like Huggard were quick to pounce on. As Nicholls warned, "Take heed therefore, for a little sin in you (i.e. in men of power,) is much noted of the commons. Thus shall these backbiters have alway an occasion to slander Christ's gospel.' (and say) 'these gospellers be such whoremongers, such swearers, such proud men, such covetous persons...The gospel, the gospel, hoc est illud, hinc illi clamores.' (1)

These moral tirades, in which both the private morals and the public deeds of eminent men were openly castigated, were deeply resented by many of Somerset's fellow councillors, and we have seen that it was this aspect of free expression which most alarmed Paget; "the governor not feared; the noblemen contemned; the gentlemen despised." The case of Northampton's divorce was a particularly unfortunate example, raising as it did the problem of the biblical rule on divorce, remarriage and bigamy. Pulpits throughout the realm were soon humming with the controversy, to such an extent that the government found it necessary to publish a proclamation in which the principle of monogamy was specifically restated. (2) But references to the case continued in the pamphlets. Among warnings against pride and avarice Nicolls includes a caveat against the whiles of the Devil;

"If any of you be given to the lust of women, he shall persuade you (by the scriptures ye shall think) that you may take another beside your wife. Or else put away your wife and marry another for every fault, though you yourself be the cause of her fall..." (3)

Such open discussion of the frailties of leading men inevitably weakened respect for the ruling classes, while at the same time the open airing of social and economic grievances encouraged the commons to think that some action was about to be taken to alleviate their lot. When popular risings and unrest spread throughout the country in 1549 Somerset's enemies in the Council could point with some justification

(1) Nicolls, op. cit, Cii r. no. 303.

(2) Hughes and Larkin, Vol.1, p 421. 24 April 1548. .

(3) Nicolls, op. cit., C i r & v.

to the Protector's tolerance of such public criticism as a factor in creating a mood of discontent and disobedience.

The decision that such liberalism was no longer feasible seems to have been reached early in August 1549. On the eleventh of that month, John Mardeley, yeoman and pamphleteer, and Oliver Daubeney, tallow chandler were summoned to the Council and bound over not to print any unlicensed books or ballads. (1) The cause of this summons could have been any of at least three books which Raynold had printed for Mardeley during the year 1548/9, but the tract which had probably caused most offence was the one which began Here beginneth a necessary instruction for all Covetous rich men to behold and learn what peril and danger they be brought into, if they have their conselation in... Mammon. This was a stern rebuke to those who speak of the gospel but live worse than when they had never heard it, and thereby "do crucify the son of god making a mock of him". In particular it addressed itself to haughty and avaricious noblemen, and it contained one or two fairly clear references to Somerset. Quoting the Preacher, it warned all those who sought worldly wealth and power of the futility of such ambitions; "I made gorgeous fair works, builded my houses, orchards and gardens of pleasure, I gathered silver and gold plenty, etc. And I see all is vanity under the sun." (2)

This tract was clearly unpalatable to Somerset and his colleagues, but it was no more offensive than many others on the market at this time. But on the same day that Mardeley was summoned, "an order was taken that from henceforth no printer should print or put to vent any English book but such as should first be examined by Mr. Secretary Petre, Mr. Secretary Smith and Mr. Cecil, or the one of them, and allowed by the same, under pain.." (3) The summons of Mardeley and Daubeney was evidently intended as a warning to the printers that the Council was serious in its intention to make the new censorship effective. The terms of their recognisance bound them to have all future works "licensed to be set forth by my Lord Protector and the rest of the King's Majesty's Council, the same work or works to be first subscribed with the hand of William Cecil esquire."

By the end of August Somerset's government had adopted a policy of general censorship. Apart from setting up the board of censors, it

(1) A.P.C., Vol. 11, pp. 311 and 2.

(2) A necessary instruction for all Covetous rich men, Aii v, B iii r.

(3) A.P.C., Vol. 11, p. 312.

had also banned plays and interludes for the summer months, and made the retailing of rumours of military defeat punishable by the galleys. The printing of papalist literature was still banned and so was the publication of anything criticising the Book of Common Prayer. Such a policy, while still a long way from the ferocity of the last years of Henry's reign, was also a long way from the policy of tolerance which had characterised the first two years of Somerset's rule.

Northumberland, unlike Somerset, was never accused by his contemporaries of harbouring dangerously liberal or popularist views, and his rise to power, coming on top of this extension of censorship by Somerset, might have been expected to produce a general clamp down on the press. The Duke was certainly very sensitive to criticism of his actions, and as the reign progressed, repeated proclamations against seditious rumours, prophecies and bills reflected both Northumberland's growing unpopularity, and his growing obsession with it. In 1550 the Act outlawing prophecies complained that "divers evil-disposed persons, minding to stir and move sedition, disobedience and rebellion, have of their perverse minds, feigned, imagined, invented, published and practised diverse fantastical and fond Prophecies concerning the King's Majesty, diverse honourable persons, gentlemen and commons of this Realm". (1) The following year a proclamation against seditious bills spoke of the malicious and cankered affections of lewd and seditious persons who had made "many slanderous and wicked bills as well against the King's majesty's most honourable council as against other noble personages within this realm". The mounting irritation which found expression in this Proclamation, was also evident in the one against Vagabonds and social abuses of every kind which was issued in April. Reciting the hopes with which the King had set out, that by a reformation of religion and "the administration of justice and the observation of the laws and statutes of this realm indifferently amongst all his subjects, he should not only discharge his duty to God, but also give an occasion of perfect quietness, humble obedience, charitable concord, great felicity and wealth to all his people, every man in his degree" it goes on to vent the frustration and impatience of the Council upon finding that many continue "to abuse daily by their vicious livings and corrupt conversations that most precious jewel, the word of God, and

(1) See Chapter 1. p.64.

by their licentious behaviour, lewd and seditious talks, boldly and presumptuously without fear either of God's plague or the sword of their prince, to break continually the laws and statutes of the realm to dispute of his majesty's affairs, to sow, spread abroad, and tell from man to man, false lies, tales, rumours and seditious devices against his majesty, his councillors, magistrates and justices.." (1) In July it was found necessary to issue another proclamation against rumours (this time of devaluation of the currency,) and in the autumn the Lord Mayor was twice summoned to the Council and instructed to take action against seditious persons and to conduct a search of the city. In December further rumours were rife in the city that Dudley was minting his own coin. For the rest of the reign the sessions of the Privy Council became increasingly dominated by a stream of seditious talkers, prophets bill-writers, preachers and singers to be punished either in the pillory or in the prisons. (2)

And yet the printers seem to have been almost untouched by this frenetic activity to stamp out criticism. Critical bills, ballads and pamphlets continued to pour off the presses and productivity went on rising to reach its highest point in 1550. Numbers of seditious bills were sent in to the Council and investigated, but works like Davy Dicar's Dreame continued to circulate in the city without any intervention from the Council. The only printer to be troubled for such pieces was William Marten, who was bound over in connection with John Lawton's ballad.

This inactivity of the Council in the face of a continuing stream of critical tracts and bills is rendered still more inexplicable by the fact that action was taken to extend the machinery of censorship. In 1552 for example a new Treasons Act brought back onto the statute book the Henrician offence of "writing, printing, painting, carving or graving" anything suggesting that the King was "an Heretic, Schismatic, Tyrant, Infidel or Usurper of the Crown." (3) This covered almost anything that might appear in a truly seditious bill, but of course the Duke and Councillors were not included in its terms. There was also a further

(1) Proclamation 28 April 1551, Hughes and Larkin, vol. 1, p. 514, no. 371.

(2) Proclamation 24 July, Hughes and Larkin, Vol. 1, p. 528, no. 378.
Warnings to the Mayor, A.P.C., Vol. 111, pp. 256, 390 and 425.
Prosecutions A.P.C., Vol. 111, pp. 375, 462.

(3) 5 and 6 Edward VI, cap. 11, S.R. Vol. 1V, p. 145.

development of the board of censors. The proclamation against various abuses of April 1551 which contained the sharp rebuke to indisciplined subjects quoted above, also carried a paragraph on the subject of printing;

"and for because divers printers, booksellers and players of interludes, without consideration or regard to the quiet of the realm do print, sell and play whatsoever any light and fantastical head listeth to invent and devise, from henceforth no printer or other person do print nor sell within this realm or any other his majesty's dominions any matter in the English tongue, nor they nor any other person do sell or otherwise dispose abroad any matter printed in any foreign dominion in the English tongue, unless the same be first allowed by his majesty or his Privy Council in writing signed with his majesty's most gracious hand or the hands of six of his said Privy Council." (1)

It is impossible to tell now whether the continued appearance on the streets of hostile, critical tracts and ballads was due to an inefficient enforcement of this censorship, or to a continuation among many of those actually engaged in the licensing process, in particular Cecil, of Somerset's broad tolerance of intellectual dissent.

One area, however, in which Northumberland's censorship was extremely effective was that of the enforcement of religious uniformity. The 1549 Act of Uniformity had forbidden any interludes, plays, songs, rhymes or any open words derogating, depraving or despising the book of Common Prayer, and the exclusive use of the book was enforced by an increasing scale of fines and penalties. Acting upon this basis in law, reforming bishops set about the task of protestantising their flock with considerable vigour. Toleration of dissident views was obviously incompatible with such a policy of uniformity. The persecution of Anabaptists continued, and in April 1549 Champneys, the author of the tract The harvest is at hand, wherein the tares shall be bound and cast into the fyre, was forced to bear a faggot. The following May Putto was made to perform a double penance, because the authorities considered that he had not shown genuine contrition on the first occasion. The condemnation of Joan Bocher in 1550 demonstrated once again the intolerance of the reformers towards the radicals, and in 1551 a Commission was issued to thirty-one people to search out and subdue heresy, and particularly anabaptism. It was this commission which led to the

(1) Ref.No.1. p.167 above.

execution of Van Paris. Such a determination to enforce obedience was understandable in an authoritarian such as Ridley, but Hooper was equally enthusiastic for conformity, despite his own battles with authority on matters of conscience. In January 1551 while he was in controversy with the bishops about his investiture, he was placed under the custody of Cranmer because "it appeared both that he had not kept his house, and that he had also written and printed a book wherein was contained matter that he should not have written: for the which, and for that also he persevered in his former opinion of not wearing the Bishop's apparel", he was detained. (1) But Hooper's experiences did not make him any the less eager to bring to order radicals like Thomas Dobbe and Henry Harte once the protection of Somerset's patronage had been removed. Ridley himself fought hard to bring the city and diocese of London to complete uniformity, carrying out a vigorous visitation. His irritation over the protection extended to the members of the foreign congregation at Austin Friars, where services other than those found in the Book of Common Prayer could be used with impunity, was undoubtedly aggravated by the appearance in print of the ceremonies and catechism of that congregation, which operated its own press under the management of Stephen Mierdman.

But while the bishops showed little tolerance towards radical protestants, it was to the extirpation of Catholic usages that they gave most of their energies. The first suggestion that the old service books should be destroyed arose as a result of the Western risings of 1549, in which hostility to the new service played a significant part. Writing to Lord Russell on the 10 August, the Council instructed that inquiries be made in all places "as for papists, for mass books of the old superstitious service, and cause them to be burnt, giving order that people do use the service appointed..." (2) But this order was limited to the area affected by the risings, and could have made little impression upon the large number of old books still in general circulation throughout the country. It was the survival of these books which gave credibility to the rumours which followed Somerset's fall in October 1549, rumours which Warwick had done little to discourage, that a catholic reaction was imminent involving a return to the old forms of worship. It was therefore, decided that to ensure the

(1) A.P.C. Vol. 111, p. 191, The book here referred to was almost certainly A godly Confession and Protestacion which was printed by John Day on December 20 1550.

(2) Troubles Connected, p.49.

permanence of the reformation all old service books would have to be destroyed. —

On Christmas Day 1549 a proclamation was issued which complained that despite the Act of Uniformity, "we are informed that divers unquiet and evil disposed persons, since the apprehension of the Duke of Somerset, have noised and bruited abroad that they should have again their old Latin service, as though the setting forth of the said book had been the only act of the aforementioned duke." It therefore ordered the parson, vicar, curate and churchwardens of every parish, and the dean and prebendaries of every cathedral, to hand over to the bishops "all antiphonaries, missals, grails, processions, manuals, legends, pyes, porcastes, journals and ordinals after the use of Sarum, Lincoln York, Bangor, Hereford or any other private use, and all other books of service, the keeping whereof should be a let to the using of the said Book of Common Prayer; and that you take the same books into your hands and them so deface and abolish that they never hereafter may serve.." Searches were to be made from time to time for any hidden books, but Henrician Primers were allowed to continue in use, provided that they were corrected in line with the various Henrician and Edwardian Injunctions concerning the removal of popish references. (1) The terms of this Proclamation were embodied in a Statute, and it seems that they were enforced with a reasonable degree of efficiency. We know, for example that the church wardens of St.Martin's in the Fields paid 8d. for the "carriage of the old service books of the church to Westminster and to the sumner." (2)

Quite apart from any motives of reforming zeal, the campaign against catholic books was furthered by the predatory inclinations of the Northumberland regime. Richly jewelled and finely bound books were looted of their riches on the excuse of stamping out superstition. Even the King's Library did not escape, as a letter of February 1551 "for the purging of his Highness' library at Westminster of all superstitious books, as mass books, legends and such like" pro ves. The letter adds the direction "to deliver the garniture of the same books being either of gold or silver, to Sir Anthon y Aucher." What happened to the other riches pillaged from this library can perhaps be imagined. (3)

(1) Hughes and Larkin, Vol. 1, p.485, no.353.

(2) J.V.Kitto, The Accounts of the Church wardens of St.Martin in the Fields, (1901) p.133.

(3) A.P.C, Vol.111,p.224.

This combination of religious zeal and dissimulated greed must have resulted in the destruction of a very large number of books; and it is clear that by the time Mary ascended the throne the nation's stock of Catholic service books was very low. (1) This was not entirely due to the Edwardian purge, for by the time the books were called in most of them were at least two decades old, and many much older. From the time of the dissolution of the monasteries and the ban on the import of bound books of 1533 very few liturgical works had appeared in London bookshops to replace old or worn-out copies. Moreover repeated campaigns of correction and erasure had left most of them in an advanced state of delapidation. The last of these corrections had followed the Injunctions of 1547, which demanded the removal of all popish references, but this followed a series of campaigns to remove such superstitious and romanist elements as fabulous saints' tales, references to the Pope and references to Thomas à Becket.

Nevertheless, despite the depredations of age and ill-usage, despite the purge of 1551 and the attention of treasure-seekers, some catholic books did survive into the reign of Mary. Some were purchased at the time of the book collection of 1551 by private individuals whose interest in them may have been either as collectors of and dealers in fine books, or as devout catholics who wished to save them from destruction. An interesting entry in the accounts of St. Michael's Cornhill for 1550 records the sale of choir books to Mr Hynd's son-in-law, and of a massing book to Mr. Hunt. The prices paid were forty shillings and five shillings respectively. The motive for these purchases may well have been profit, for many of the church furnishings banned under Edward found their way into private hands, and were eventually sold in France. It is also probable that some church-wardens preferred to sell their books privately in order to get a fair price for richly furnished and valuable books. These books might then be resold, or looted of their riches by the purchaser. It appears also that some were bought and hoarded secretly in the hopes and expectation that there would shortly be a return to the old religion. They could then be either sold or given back to the churches. Under Mary, St. Michael's Cornhill, which was a very protestant church, had to buy a complete set of Catholic service books, consisting of homilies, antiphoners, missals, hymnals, processions, psalters, grails, a manual and a venite book. (2)

(1) See below p.253.

(2) Accounts of the Churchwardens, St. Michael, Cornhill, pp.80, 114, 115, 116, 123, 129, 130, 135, and 140.

Some of these were evidently Henrician survivals, for in 1554 there are two entries which mention antiphoners, the first describing the purchase of two antiphoners and a mass book, for which the painter Young was paid £3.5s.8d., and the second for "a new antiphoner bought at Paul's" which cost a mere 1s.1d. Presumably the first entry refers to old, finely bound books, possibly manu scripts, while the second makes it clear that it is speaking of a Marian edition. The "processioner of parchment" which the wardens acquired for 18d in 1556 may also have been an old unbound copy, for when another was bought the following year the entry emphasised that it was the "new book called a processioner". It cost 2s.2d. St.Michael's was also paying for books to be rebound, which were probably Henrician survivals, for new books should not have needed mending in so short a time. They sent a processioner and a Hymnal to the binder in 1558. (1)

St Martin's in the Fields, which also had to spend considerable sums making good the deficiencies in its catholic service books, was fortunate to receive a gift of two grails, one antiphoner, a processional and a manual in parchment from a Mr.Best. Possibly Mr.Best was a conservative member of the parish who had hidden these books away when the church was ordered to give them all up in 1551. (2) Other books undoubtedly survived in catholic households, being hidden away in exactly the same way as the protestants were later to hide their literature. Many of these books, especially Primers, were family heirlooms, and were saved as much out of feeling of family tradition as from a sense of religious attachment. Often they were also vehicles for the inheritance of wealth, being richly bound in gold or silver. A will of 1540 describes this kind of heirloom, in "a Matins book, writ in vellum and lymned with gold and pictures." and "a primer book with David psalter writ in vellum and lymned with gold and bordered with a clasp of *latten* ." (3) The lengths which John Foxe was later to go to to discredit the old Primer suggest that affection for this most widely used devotional handbook died hard.(4) As for the public service books, some survived, like the Rouen Missal of 1510 into which someone later put the broadside prayer for the safe delivery of Queen Mary. But most, including those acquired by the London churches mentioned above, were in a poor state of repair. When Thomas

(1) Ibid, p. 140.

(2) J.V.Kitto, op.cit, p.158.

(3) The will of Thomas Crull 1540, details in H.R.Plomer, 'Books mentioned in will' I.B.S. Vol. VII, (1902 - 4.)

(4) Foxe, Vol. VII, p.129.

Thackam of Reading desired to celebrate the return of the old religion by singing Latin evensong he had to fetch the scraps of the old books to the church, presumably from his home where he had been hiding them, and he and others "did help to patch together the books". (1)

It appears that the proclamation of December 25 1549 was enforced with considerable energy, at least for a short while. Large numbers of catholic service books must have been destroyed to create the necessity for the printing and publication of replacements to be carried out on such a large scale under Mary. (2) The Council was also extremely insistent that Gardiner should acknowledge publicly that the King had been justified in calling in the old books. Among a wide range of Articles put to the bishop was one "that for like godly and good considerations, by the same authority of Parliament, all mass-books, couchers, grails, and other books of the service in Latin, heretofore used, should be abolished and defaced, as well for certain superstitions in them contained, as also to avoid dissension; and that the said service in the church should be, through the whole realm, in one uniform conformity, and no occasion through those old books given to the contrary." (3)

But little was done to follow up this initial drive, and there are very few references to the possession of old books leading to prosecution. When Arundel's possessions were searched in 1551, the discovery of "certain books of the old religion" was used as a pretext for taking action against him, but it was not the cause of his difficulties, which arose from a power-struggle inside the Council. (4) In general, the Edwardian government concentrated on the enforcement of the Prayer Book service, and the education of the public in protestant doctrine, rather than exerting a lot of energy in the entirely negative task of searching out the tattered remnants of old books. On the other hand, their appreciation of the role of education and propaganda caused them to take a stern view of the publication of Catholic polemic, and those engaged in such publication were proceeded against with some efficiency.

As we have seen, Somerset's government was generally tolerant of the expression of catholic, though not of papist views, provided that they were not committed to print. Huggard and other conservative

(1) N. of R., p.178.

(2) See below, p. 253 ff.

(3) A.P.C., Vol.3, p.75.

(4) Span. Cal., Vol.X, p.425
Advices of Scheyfve. Dec. 27 1551.

pamphleteers continued to contribute to the religious debate which raged in London during the first years of Edward's reign, their ballads being circulated in manuscript, and drawing indignant replies from the gospellers. The sermon of Nicolls on the twelve spies gives many indications of the line taken by the catholic writers. Bewailing the evil lives of many who professed to be christians; which brought the gospel into disrepute, he adds that the apostates say that the plagues being currently visited upon England were not the result of unfaithfulness, but a punishment for "these new found out heresies that be now abroad." (1)

Apart from the ballads of Huggard, various other catholic pamphlets circulated during the rule of Somerset. Some were produced in connection with the Western rising, one example being the commons' reply to the King, which was sufficiently popular to warrant a translation into French. (2) The circumstances in which this was written, rendered it a highly seditious document, and as such liable to arouse the wrath of the Council. But not all catholic polemic was seditious. The many works which Gardiner produced during the period of his imprisonment were mainly concerned with the vexed question of the sacrament. (3) It seems likely that some at least of these tracts were circulated among scholars in manuscript, until the harsher regime of Warwick made not only the publication but also the expression of catholic views a dangerous matter.

The imposition of censorship in the summer of 1549, and the fall of Somerset in the autumn of that year, did not, as we have seen, lead to an immediate reduction in freedom of expression. In fact in the most prolific year of 1550 a few catholic books were even printed by London printers, apparently without any retribution being visited upon them. (4) But as the reign progressed the situation which had led to the setting up under Henry of a hostile exile-press was gradually reproduced, though

(1) Nicolls, op. cit, B viir & v.

(2) Troubles Connected p. xviii.

(3) eg. Exetasis testimoniorum quae Martinus Bucerus ex Sanctis Patribus non sancte edidit.
In Petrum Martyrem Florentinum, malae tractationis querela sanctissimae Eucharistiae nomine edita, authore Stephano Winton
An Explication of the true Catholick Fayth
Annotaciones in Dialogum Iohannis Oecolampadii, de mysterio Eucharistico Confutatio Cavillationum Quibus, Sacrosanctum Eucharistia Sacramentum ab impiis Capernaitis impeti solet.

(4) Huggard A new treatyse, the excellency of manes nature, (R. Wyer.)
Life of St. Catherine (J. Waley 1550.)
Lytell booke that speketh of purgatorye. (R. Wyer.)

this time the exiles were catholic rather than protestant, and the literature with which they hoped to convert their countrymen was romanist.

At the very beginning of Edward's reign, or possibly under Henry, a number of monks from the Charter house had fled to Flanders, "where they have again received their monk's habit and profession, and nevertheless procured with their friends here to have the payment of their pensions... like as also certain other Englishmen, late religious persons of their confederacy, were of late detected that they intended shortly to have followed the former for the semblable purpose in case they had not in the mean time been apprehended." Among these may well have been those two who were engaged in smuggling out relics of the Henrician martyrs. (1) To this group of monastic exiles were soon added others whose missionary zeal and controversial frame of mind echoed that of Bale and Hooper. Richard Smith, who was forced to retract his Catholic writings in the spring of 1547, and whose retractations had appeared in print, was imprisoned for a short time and then fled to Scotland. From there he sent two letters to Cranmer, apologising for past abuses and asking Cranmer to be a mean to obtain a King's pardon for him. He would then return and write De Sacerdotum Connubiis, "a Latin book that should be a just satisfaction for anything that I have written against the same." (2) This request for a pardon was presumably not granted, for in 1550 Smith issued his Confutation of a certen booke called a Defence of the doctrine of the sacramēt...of Thomas, Abp. of Cant. This was printed in Paris by R. Chaudiere.

Also abroad at this time was Maurice Chauney, an ex-Carthusian, who published in 1550 his defence of the executed Carthusians, and of More and Fisher, in a book by Vitus A Dulken entitled Historia Martyrum Angliae (3) These two were joined by William Rastell, who left for the continent some time before February 1550, when his goods, along with those of Anthony Bonvise, Dr. Clement, and Balthasar were declared forfeit and seized for the King's use, "because they had fled the realm and conveyed their chief substance and goods out of the realm, which persons were rank papists." (4)

(1) A.P.C., Vol. 11, p. 97.

(2) Foxe, Vol. VI, p. 469.

(3) Strype, E.M., Vol. 1, p. 307.

(4) Wriothesley, Vol. 11, p. 34.

Rastell had long ceased to be active in the printing trade and was by this date an eminent lawyer. As far as we know he did no printing while he was abroad, though he may have obtained the advice of other exiles such as Chauncy on the edition of More's works which he was preparing. Most of his time was taken up in the preparation of several legal textbooks. (1)

The London printer Robert Caly, on the other hand, was evidently heavily involved, both in the printing of catholic books for the English market, and in smuggling them into the country. Caly must have left for France some time before 1550 and seems to have settled at the printing centre of Rouen, which had strong links with the London printing community. Among contacts which Caly made there was probably the wealthy stationer Robert Valentine, who later published large numbers of service books for the English market. Caly may have discussed with Valentine the need for new catholic service books, for in 1551 the Rouen printer issued two editions of the Sarum Primer, presumably for the use of the exiled community, though Caly may have been hoping to smuggle these also into England. (2)

In Rouen Caly obtained access to a printing press, and was soon printing on his own account. One book we know for certain to have come from this press was Gardiner's An explicatiō and assertion of the true catholique fayth, touchyng the sacrament. This book, which he printed in 1551, was reissued on Mary's accession with the interesting imprint "Imprinted at Roan by Roberte Calye and are to be solde in Paul's churchyard at the sign of the Byshoppes head". The book carries the recommendation "And now aucthorised by the Queen's highnesse Counsale." Another of Caly's Rouen publications appears to have been Thomas Martin's A traictise declaryng that the pretended marriage of priestes is no meriage. This was one of a number of tracts concerning the allowability or otherwise of clerical marriage which followed the statute of 1550 giving priests the right to take wives. It was reprinted by Caly in 1554 and was one of the books involved in the smuggling enterprise of 1550. The group of exiles involved in this traffic included Martin and Smith, who were the most eminent writers among the catholic emigrées, Caly, who was occupied in printing their works and other texts, like the Gardiner tracts which were smuggled

(1) A.W.Reed, 'The Editor of Sir Thomas More's English Works; W.Rastell,' in The Library, 4th series, Vol.IV, (1923), p.25.

(2) S.T.Cs. 16055 and 16056.

out of England, and William Seth, a servant of Bonner, who seems to have managed the shipping of the books. It appears that Caly printed them and carried them to the coast of France, Seth shipped them across the channel, and delivered them to sympathisers in London like Beard, the catholic tailor, while John White, warden of Winchester directed the whole operation from England.

This carefully built organisation had not been in operation long, however, when the government intervened. The first of the group to be apprehended was Seth, who "had brought over certain ill books made by Dr. Smith in France against the Bp. of Canterbury's and Peter Martyr's books, forasmuch as he directed his said books to divers persons by name, and also sent special letters which Seth delivered, being thought a matter necessary to be examined, it was resolved that Dr. Ponet, now named Bp. of Winchester, Mr. Gosnall and John Throckmorton, should have the examination of the matter." Seth had received the books from "one Cayly a bookbonder" at Dieppe. (1) Three weeks after the Council ordered these investigations John White, warden of Winchester, was summoned to appear. White had already spent a term in prison for a verse composition attacking Peter Martyr, called Diacosio-Martyrion, which Caly printed in 1553. On this occasion he confessed to the Council "that he had received divers books and letters from beyond the sea, and namely from one Martin, a scholar there, who repugneth the King's Majesty's proceedings utterly; and being manifest that he hath consented to things of that sort, in such wise that greater practices are thought to be in him that ways, he was committed to the Tower." (2) The Lords presumably suspected White of organising the smuggling enterprise. Upon White's arrest the publication of Diacosio which had been about to take place in Louvain, was suspended, and the manuscript was returned to London on Mary's accession and printed there. (3) The reference to books attacking Martyr must therefore be to Gardiner's tract In Petrum Martyrem Florentinum, malae tractationis querela sanctissimae Eucharistiae, which could have been conveyed to Caly in Rouen at the same time as his Explicatio.

These tracts were all intended for scholars, and were effective enough at that level for the reformers to feel the need to reply to them (4)

(1) A.P.C., Vol.111, p.232

(2) A.P.C., Vol.111, p.242

(3) Strype, E.M. Vol.11, part 1, p.423.

(4) When Ponet was in exile he published An apologie fully aunswering by Scriptures a blasphemose book under the name of T.Martin against the godly mariadg of priests (1555 Zurich.)

But the exiled community was too small and scholarly, and the propaganda campaign was interrupted too early for any truly popular polemic to emerge. As for Bonner, it seems likely that he knew about the smuggling enterprise. His servant Seth was involved, and so were two of his Marian promoters, Caly, and Beard, a tailor of Fleet Street to whom Caly had sent a remembrance to deliver a book to Reynolds a priest. Possibly the bishop gave financial aid to such publications as Valentine's Primer. But it is unlikely that he was actively involved in the campaign, which was inspired by Catholics of a more theological turn of mind than Bonner.

The break-up of this circle of book smugglers heralded the end of any serious attempt by the English Catholics to mount a campaign of counter-propaganda. Indeed the evidence of Elizabeth's reign suggests that it was not until late in the century that English Catholicism gained sufficient confidence or missionary zeal to tackle the task of reconversion seriously. By the 1550s the Catholic exiles were still too small a body, and lacked both leadership and a coherent and persuasive apologetic with which to counter the Protestant gospel. Nevertheless the Council in London remained on the alert to prevent any resurgence of the Catholic offensive. In 1551 they sent to Cranmer for some "books touching religion sent out of Ireland" (1) which had evidently fallen into the Archbishop's hands. These books may well have come from France, for with the detection of the cross channel route Caly and his colleagues would have been looking for an alternative way to get their copies into England, and Ireland might well have been used as a point of embarkation. It is clear that a few books were still being printed on the continent on behalf of the English Catholics, Gardiner's Confutatio Cavillationum being published in Paris in 1552. But either through the vigilance of the Council or the demoralisation of the conservative party in England, no new organisation seems to have sprung up to take the place of the circle broken in 1551.

At home also the expression of Catholic views became increasingly rare as Northumberland's reign of terror took hold. The exact nature of the seditious libels circulated by Hawkins in 1552 cannot be known, but the fact that he had counterfeited Cranmer's handwriting might imply that they had some religious content. In any event the methods by which Northumberland proceeded in this case give some indication why Catholic ballads ceased to appear. The Duke wrote to Cecil that Hawkins

(1) A.P.C., Vol. III, p.444.

should be forced to discover his accomplices, by fair means or foul.(1)
Later Gardiner was to testify that during Edward's reign "all such writers as did hold anything with the apostolic see were condemned and forbidden to be read." Such a prohibition was in strict accord with the treason laws of both Edward and Henry, but Gardiner's complaint suggests that the Edwardian government took action to suppress ^{all} the works of the conservatives. (2)

But if the Northumberland regime operated an efficient and watchful censorship of Catholic literature, protestant authors were also subject to conciliar surveillance. Two interesting letters from Hooper to Bullinger describe the difficulties faced by those who wished to print critical, unacceptable or undiplomatic opinions. In a letter dated 27 March 1550 he writes,

"Touching the Interim (you know what I mean), I have not hitherto been able by any entreaties to obtain permission for committing it to the press, but I shall probably in a few days meet the King upon business, and I will give it to him for his perusal."

The following year he wrote to Bullinger that he had been unable "to procure the printing of those writings of yours, (you know what I mean) which I brought away with me from Zurich." These two letters seem to be referring to the same work, which was presumably a critique by Bullinger of the Interim of Augsburg. Hooper adds revealingly that everybody approves it, but no-one will risk publishing it; "it has been prevented by the calamity of the time, or rather by the timidity of men who prefer their own counsel to the glory of God." (3)

If this work contained undiplomatic views of the Emperor the refusal of the Privy Council to give it a license is understandable. But as the aims and attitudes of the ruling group diverged increasingly from those of the reforming bishops, the bishops found it increasingly difficult to obtain co-operation for their efforts. In a letter to Cheke and Cecil, dated September 1551, Cranmer writes that Reyner Wolf has just finished printing his Answer to Gardiner,

"And forasmuch as both printing and selling of any matters in the English tongue is prohibited by a Proclamation set forth, unless the same matter be first allowed by the King's Majesty

(1) Cal.Dom, Edward VI, Vol.XV, p.46. No.34.

(2) Foxe, Vol. VI, p.577

(3) C.L., Vol.1, pp.82 & 92

or vi of his Majesty's Privy Council, as you shall more plainly perceive by the Proclamation, which herewith I send unto you; Therefore I heartily pray you to be a suitor to the King's Majesty, or to the privy council, that Mr. Rayner may have license for the printing and selling of my said book accordingly. And the same so obtained, to send me with convenient speed. For in the beginning of the term I think it were very necessary to be set forth, for the contentation of many which have had long expectation of the same."

Cranmer's impatience at the delay caused by the requirements of the Proclamation was even more evident in a letter sent to Cecil the following September; "I pray you, let me have your advice unto whom I might best write concerning Rayner Wolf, for I wot not to whom I might write but to my lord of Northumberland." Wolf finally got his license to sell Cranmer's book, An Answer unto a crafty and sophisticall cavillation.. by Step. Gardiner, on October 1st, a full year after he had finished the printing. (1)

These letters of Cranmer and Hooper make it clear that licenses were not given automatically, even to the protestant divines. But if by the end of the reign the rift between the bishops and the government was becoming wide enough to cause difficulties, the first few months of Northumberland's rule held out the promise of that more complete reformation for which the gospellers had been clamouring. The publication of protestant polemic, which had reached such dizzy heights during the expansion of Somerset's era, continued unabated, and we have surviving copies of an amazing 260 publications dating from 1550.

As in 1548, a very large proportion of the books published in London in 1550 were religious in content. Once again there were large numbers of biblical works, including seven editions of the New Testament and a wide range of expositions and concordances. (2) The total number of scriptural books issued was over thirty. The works of Erasmus also appeared in unusual numbers, two editions of the Enchiridion being printed, by Robert Toy and Anthony Vele, and another seven copies of his educational and religious writings being published.

(1) Strype, Cranmer, vol. II, no. LXII and LXVI

(2) A very fruitful exposition upon the XV. Psalme) (J. Day)
Hooper's Oversight on Jonas)
A briefe and compendious table in a maner of a concordance, (Lynne)
The Pith thy and most notable sayings, (Paynell) (T. Gaultier)
The Exposition of Daniel, (Day & Seres.)
 Many others.

Hooper was also well represented, nine editions of his books being issued in 1550, four of them copies of his Declaration of the ten holy commandments. Quantities of sermons appeared, by Ochino, Ponet, Lever, Latimer and others, and the usual number of tracts bearing exotic titles like Crowley's two pamphlets, The baterie of the Pope's Botereulx and The voyce of the laste Trumpet, or Solme's pseudonymous piece A treatys callyde the Lordis flayle.

But in 1550 the popular element among the copies printed was less exclusively religious than in 1548. Along side the controversial tracts and devotional pamphlets the printers issued a large number of verse romances, presumably to cater for their new-found customers. The popularity of these romances suggests that many of the less serious-minded Londoners, having been drawn into the market for printed books by a love of controversy, soon palled of a diet made up entirely of spiritual exhortation and turned to lighter reading. While printers still produced as many serious theological treatises as before, the more popular tracts like A Caveat for Christians gave way to stories like The Romance of King Alexander, Adambel Clym of the Clough, Sir Dygore, Chevalier au Cygne, Reynard the Fox, Sir Isenbras, Lydgate's The churl and the bride and several works on the battle of the sexes. (1)

1550 also saw the production of a remarkably large number of educational and classical texts. To some extent this must have been a response to the requirements of bishops like Hooper who were engaged in building adequate libraries for their cathedrals. Hooper sent abroad for many of the works he needed, negotiating with Froschauer to buy the works of the continental reformers at wholesale prices. (2) Other texts came into the country with Cranmer's scholarly guests. Apart from meeting the entire cost of transporting the libraries of Peter Martyr and Ochino, the crown also gave Ochino £40 to spend on books at Basle, and forwarded £13 to Martyr to be spent on copies of the early fathers. This tendency to look to the continental printing houses for serious works of scholarship continued to characterise those English theologians who had spent any time abroad. But the hectic activity of the London printers in 1550 showed that they were not prepared to leave the large market in scholarly texts entirely to their continental competitors. Apart from theological

(1) eg. Barnsley, A treatyse shewing the pryde of women (T. Raynolde) Gosynhill, The vertuous schoolhouse of ungracious women (Lynne ?)

(2) Q.L. Vol. 1, p. 89. Hooper to Bullinger June 29 1550.

texts, issues of Aesop, Cicero, Herodian, Isocrates, Tertullian and Thucydides were printed in London, as well as the large amounts of Erasmus mentioned above, two editions of Vives' Introduction to wisdom and one of Taverner's Garden of Wisdom. There were also numbers of books of linguistics and grammar, from Salesbury's Briefe and playne introduction in the British tong and Thomas's Principal rules of the Italian grammer, through Sherry's Treatise of schemes and tropes, to an edition by Mychell of Stanbridge's Accidentia. Add to this the text books on Geography and History, and books on making Indentures, on Hawking, medicine, law and surgery and it is clear that the drive in the printing world had shifted slightly away from the evangelical and towards the educational.

As in 1548, the boom of 1550 was created by a printing community swollen by numbers of foreign book workers. The year of the greatest immigration was 1549, when we have records of at least sixty foreigners working in the London printing trade. Many of these were members of the Dutch Church, and several were attached to Mierdman, who was printer to that community. Mierdman seems to have arrived in England in 1549, and with him came Henry and Wyman Coke and Godfrey Hatsoo. These three were joined the following year by Reinaerdt Vander Ae, Lambert Brey and Cornelius van Clusen. Other refugees found work with John Day, (1) Hugh Singleton, (2) Anthony Scoloker, Cybkin, Lynne, Waley, Nicholas Hill, Raynald, Katherine Harford, Thomas Purfoot, and many other London stationers, particularly those of reforming sympathies. Whitchurch and Grafton employed a number of migrant workers in their great liturgical works. (3) Most of these foreign bookmen came from northern France and the Low Countries, but while the Dutch contingent were mainly printers, the Frenchmen included several binders and even a couple of typefounders.

But by 1550 the tide was beginning to turn against these foreign workers. The London printers showed amazing generosity and hospitality towards them, but the book trade was already suffering considerable financial difficulties as a result of inflation and over-production

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- (1) eg. Geyson Gysberd, John Hollinder, Henry Fleteman and Jacob Pieter.
 - (2) eg. Henry Arnoldt, Peter Chaunter, Zacharias Kempen.
 - (3) eg. Henry Soull, Jacob Tyse, Jacob a servant, Jacob Wodfaert, Jasper Ferrall, John Ferrom, John Magwyssher, Paul Seygar, Jasper Hallyer.

and stationers were not proof against the rising mood of xenophobia with which Londoners habitually reacted to economic difficulties. By 1551 Jehan Sheyfe was reporting an ugly situation to the Emperor.

"A rumour has recently been going the rounds here, to the effect that in the last year or two, 40,000 or 50,000 foreigners have come to England, and that most of them are living in London, which has caused the high prices of food and lodgings. Evil disposed persons have taken advantage of this to assert that prices would not go down unless all these foreigners were slaughtered; and the people have rather welcomed the idea. The source of this rumour is the German Church, where 1000 and more persons have been seen together at one time, and the enrollment of foreigners carried out here some time ago also contributed, though in truth their number hardly exceeds 4000 or 5000 heads in all." (1)

Indeed, within a year of their arrival a significant number of the refugee book workers had moved on to friendlier havens, and the number recorded for 1550 was fifty three, a considerable drop from the sixty four the previous year. Of this fifty three, nineteen were members of the Dutch Church.

The hospitality extended by the protestant printers towards their co-religionists evidently raised once again the anxiety of the stationers about their monopoly rights. In 1550 Thomas Gaultier, a French printer in favour at court, failed to gain entry to the Stationers, despite his powerful connections. And it was at this time ^{that} the question of applying for a charter was first discussed by the Company. But in fact the pressure on the London stationers eased considerably after 1550 and the number of foreign workers employed in the trade fell steadily throughout the remainder of Edward's reign, dropping away even further under Mary. It was not until the beginning of Elizabeth's reign that a new flood of refugees, this time mainly from France, arrived to swell the now depleted London community.

1550 proved to be the busiest year for London printers and book-sellers, and the rest of the reign saw a steady decline in production. By 1552 output was down to a known 105 editions, and that total includes all the Camel-Churchyard ballads and ten editions of the second prayer book. Moreover, the proportion of this output given over to works of religion was down from the eighty per cent and over of 1548 to a mere forty to forty-five per cent. The rest of that year's production consisted of year books, ballads and educational texts. This shift in the stationers' choice of copies reflected a general turning

(1) Advices of Scheyfe, April. 21. 1551. Cal. Span, Vol. X, p.279.

away from evangelical seriousness to worldly frivolity, which was much lamented at the time. Disillusion with the reformed faith as practised by Northumberland and his friends, and an overdose of religious polemic in the earlier part of the reign, combined to depress the demand for tracts, and in fact the demand for books generally fell away.

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4. Religious commitment among the Printers. Protestant Printers

As 1553 progressed and the prospect of Mary's accession became imminent, the mood of controversy which had faded in the last years of Edward's reign, returned and book production rose accordingly. By the time Mary was proclaimed Queen the religious situation in London was finely balanced. For several years the citizens had been subjected to an energetic campaign of protestant instruction, both from the pulpit and from the press. The city's nationalist and anti-clerical traditions, the independence of its merchants and the radicalism of its workers all inclined it to receive the new doctrine more enthusiastically than other parts of the realm. But London was also the stage on which all the leading actors in the political drama performed, and while in the days of Henry VIII and Cromwell this may have benefited the reformation, under Northumberland the hypocrisy, rapacity and ambition of many who called themselves gospellers, spread disillusion and cynicism faster in the capital than anywhere else. Many Londoners greeted the return to the Mass with relief, and most churches needed no urging to comply with the wishes of a Queen who had come to the throne on a wave of ecstatic popularity, and clearly with the approval of the Almighty. The protestant minority was both vociferous and ardent, but many Henrician conservatives had come to the conclusion by 1553 that the only way back to a devout, charitable and ordered society lay in a return to the old faith, and if necessary, to the old obedience. Between these two groups lay the majority of Londoners, whose spiritual state, if we are to believe the reports in both religious camps, was one of apathy, secularism, cynicism and irreligion. In this situation, with the allegiance of the majority of Londoners still undecided, the religious opinions of the printers and stationers, if they can be proved to have affected the output of their presses, were clearly of some importance. There can be no doubt, neither did contemporary observers have any doubt, that the output of the presses had a significant effect upon the religious climate and sympathies of

the capital, and therefore of the country. Foxe was not the only one to appreciate the power of this "singular organ of the Holy Ghost". (1) Under Edward the potential of the printing press for mass conversion and education was well understood, both by Somerset and by many of his associates, such as Cecil and Ponet. The huge volume of religious propaganda produced by the printers during *Edward's reign* was not fortuitous, but was the fruit of a deliberate campaign in which patents and patronage were used to ensure the widest possible dispersal of godly and uplifting literature. (2) The accession of Mary raised two interesting questions; whether the catholic divines and pamphleteers would prove as eager and prolific in their use of the press, and receive as much encouragement from their government as the Edwardian writers had done, and whether the printers would prove as willing to produce catholic propaganda as they had been to publish the gospel.

It is the second of these two questions which I hope to be able to answer, although the first will obviously occur at various points in the argument. The stationer was first and foremost a tradesman, and his first consideration when a copy was brought to him was whether or not it would sell. The religious content of the proposed book might or might not interest him as an individual, but as a stationer his first question had to be whether or not the book was a good business proposition. There is no obvious reason why a stationer should be any more religiously sensitive than the great bulk of his fellow citizens, who were apparently indifferent to things religious. That profit was the central concern of the majority of printers was an allegation frequently made by John Bale, an admittedly jaundiced observer, but also assumed by successive governments. Mary's proclamation of 18 August 1553 stated that the doctrinal treatises of the previous reign had been "chiefly by the printers and stationers set out to sale to her grace's subjects of an evil zeal for lucre and covetousness of vile gain." The Elizabethan Injunctions of 1559 made the same claim that "there is a great abuse in the printers of books, which for covetousness chiefly regard not what they print so they might have gain." (3)

(1) As early as 1532 More had lamented the power of printed books which have "infected and killed, I fear me, more silly souls than the famine of the dear years have destroyed bodies." More, The confutacyon of Tyndale's answers. (1532), Aa ii r.

(2) See Chapter 111.

(3) Hughes & Larkin, Vol. 11, ^{no 390} p. 6. and p. 129, Item 51, (no. 460)

To some extent the business sense which is here condemned as venality was essential to any stationer, for once he began to pick and choose between copies to find those which exactly reflected his own views, he risked being left with nothing at all to print. This was certainly the case in the reign of Edward, when the outlawing of catholic polemic left the printer with the choice of either printing protestant literature or eschewing religious works altogether. As *Wolf* already had the monopoly in classics, and the King's printer in all official publications, there was little else for our conscientious stationer to print, unless he had the knowledge to venture on legal or medical texts. He must either print protestant tracts or go out of business.

But while the protestant tracts may have been a matter of survival for the smaller and less affluent printer, for a wealthy, energetic or enterprising stationer it could also be a source of considerable profit. The scramble for patents and licences, particularly those which ensured monopoly rights in profitable corners of the market, like Day's A.B.C. and Catechism patent, showed that for the printers, religious printing was as much a matter of profit and competition as any other area of the market. Among printers who acquired patents in religious books under Edward were Walter Lynne, John Oswan, Whitchurch and Grafton, Humphrey Powell, Thomas Gaultier and Richard Jugge. These patents were guarded jealously, and in 1552 a quarrel broke out between John Day and Reyner Wolf as to who should have the right to print Ponet's catechism, Wolf holding the license for the classical languages, and Day for catechisms. This dispute was settled amicably enough, but it heralded the many patent battles which were to confuse the situation within the printing trade throughout the reign of Elizabeth.

There was certainly a great deal of money to be made out of protestant publications during Edward's reign. But before any generalisation can be made about the stationers' motivation in printing reforming literature, the religious opinions and output of each of the stationers working in London at this time must be examined. There are seventy-four Edwardian printers and publishers whose names appear on surviving editions and several more who are known to have been active at the time but who, for various reasons, have not left any identifiable copies. Of these Thomas Powell, the nephew and foreman of Thomas Berthelet, Michael Lobley, and Henry Sutton were employed in London, while Robert Caly and William Rastell were both abroad for the sake of their consciences

and Caly at least was functioning as a printer in exile.

Among the London stationers were several who had close links with the court circle and the leading divines of Edward's reign, and who clearly shared the reforming views of their patrons. Richard Grafton, Edward's royal printer, was a Grocer and Merchant Adventurer of Antwerp who first became involved in printing in 1537 when he joined with Whitchurch and Marler in publishing the Matthew Bible. He was a man of some influence in the city and was in fact a witness when Bonner took his oath of Supremacy. He was also a warden of the Grocer's Company 1555-1556 and in later life an antiquarian and official of several London hospitals. Grafton had been drawn into the printing trade by his enthusiasm for the English Bible, sinking £500 of his own capital in the 1537 Matthew edition. He continued to spend large sums of money, as well as time and energy, on Bible printing and undertook the major part of the organisation of Cromwell's Great Bible, which was begun in Paris, but had to be transferred to London when it ran foul of the French Inquisition. From then on Grafton became a full time printer, setting up his presses in the dissolved house of the Grey Friars, later Christ's Hospital, and sharing with Whitchurch the Henrician patent for service books and Primers. The fall of his patron Cromwell landed him in some difficulties, especially as he ventured, with some daring, though under false imprints, to publish the Thomas Grey ballads in defence of the fallen minister. Imprisoned for this, and for dealing in Melancthon's Letter against the Six articles, he was also investigated under the articles on suspicion of not being confessed. But he did not lose his patent, and continued to print on a large scale throughout Henry's reign, being nominated royal printer to Prince Edward while Henry was still alive, and becoming King's printer on the old King's death.

During Edward's reign the government employed Whitchurch and Grafton to supply almost the whole nation with reformed Service books and Grafton's presses at Grey Friars were kept at full stretch, being worked by numbers of refugee workers as well as Grafton's English assistants. This work left him little time to indulge in the printing of polemic, but his identification with the Edwardian Council and its liturgical reforms, and his known protestant views, placed him in a

serious dilemma when it became clear that Edward was close to death.(1)

Grafton's partner in most of his enterprises was Edward Whitchurch. Whitchurch, like Marler, was a member of the Company of Haberdashers, and like Grafton he had been drawn into the book trade by the enterprise of the Bible. He was involved in the Matthew Bible production of 1537, and possibly went to Paris with Grafton and Coverdale in 1538 to help in the production of the Great Bible. Foxe's statement that the printers of the Great Bible were "the aforesaid Richard Grafton, and Whitchurch, who bore the charges", suggests that Whitchurch was not at this time involved in printing, but was backing the project financially. (2) In November 1539 he and Berthelet approached Cranmer about the price to be fixed for the Great Bible. Berthelet favoured 13s. 4d., but Cranmer deferred to Cromwell, who insisted on the lower price of 10s.

(1) Patent Roll 37 Henry VIII, part 2, m.16.

1 Edward VI, part 4, m.7.

2 Edward VI, part 7, m.9.

1 Edward VI, part 7, m.1.

For the text of the lost patent in Primers, see Portiforium (1543/4) Grafton and Whitchurch. S.T.C. 15835.

A.P.C. vol.I, pp. 107, 117, 120, 125; vol.IV, p.131.

Nicholas P.C.P., vol.VII, pp. 105 and 106.

Foxe, vol.V, pp.410 ff.(printing of the Great Bible), 824, 444-9; vol.VIII, p.725.

Arber, Transcripts, vol.I, p.54.

Machyn, p.108.

John Stow, A Survey of London, ed. C.L.Kingsford, (Oxford,1908).

(The introduction gives an account of the controversy over chronicles between Stow and Grafton.)

Duff, Century, p. 59.

F.S. Isaac, English and Scottish Printing Types (1932), 29-39.

H.R. Plomer, 'New Documents Relating to English Printers and Publishers' in T.B.S., vol.IV, (1895-8),p. 153.

C.T. Sisson, 'Grafton and the London Greyfriars' in The Library, fourth series, vol XI, p.121.

Worman, p.25.

See also below, p 224

(2) Foxe, vol.V, p. 410.

By 1541 Whitchurch had set up his own presses at the Old Jury on the south side of Aldermary Church, at an office known as the Well and Two Buckets. He moved from there four years later when he acquired Byddell's old house, the Sun, which occupied a valuable site in Fleet Street. He continued to issue books from these premises, both on his own account and in partnership with Grafton, until 1553. The imminent death of King Edward placed Whitchurch in a similar position to Grafton. He had not indulged in the more raucous polemics of Edward's reign, but his religious views were well known. Like Grafton he had been investigated under the Six Articles for not being confessed, and along with a number of other printers, these two had suffered a short term of imprisonment in 1543 for printing illegal books. Grafton, Whitchurch and Petit had been held longer than the other printers, though the reason for this is not clear. Whitchurch was clearly not a fanatic, and on one occasion he had assisted Bonner in his attempts to persuade a heretic called Wisdome to recant. Nevertheless, there was no doubting his protestantism, for not only was he a friend of Cranmer, whose views he probably shared, but he had also been the host of John Rogers. The prospect of Mary's accession must have caused him some anxiety. (1)

The third printer involved with Cromwell in the printing of the English Bible and still active under Edward was Thomas Berthelet, printer to Henry VIII. Berthelet had been working as a printer, publisher and translator from his office at the sign of the Lucretia Romana in Fleet Street since the early 1520s and had run into trouble with the

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- (1) Patent Rolls. 37 Henry VIII., part 2, m.16. Roll
 1 Edward VI., part 4, m. 7. Roll 802
 2 Edward VI., part 7, m. 7. Roll 814
 Will, P.C.C. 31. Street (November 1562), *Prob. 11*, 45.
A.P.C., 1. pp. 107, 117, 120, 121, 125.
 Foxe, vol.V., p.410 ff., 444-9, 826. Appendix XXII.
 Duff, Century, p.169.
 F. S. Isaac, op. cit., 40-50.
 H.J.Byrom, 'John Wayland - Printer, Scrivener and Litigant,'
 in The Library, fourth series, vol. XI.,
 1930-31, p.312.
 H.J.Byrom, 'Some Exchequer Cases involving Members of the
 Book Trade, 1534 - 1558', in The Library,
 vol.XVI., fourth series, 1935 - 6., p. 402.
 Worman, p.70.
 See also below page 225.

ecclesiastical authorities in 1526 for not having his books approved before publication. One of the books in question was The Treatise of the Pater Noster, translated by Margaret Roper from a work by Erasmus, and the action against Berthelet may have arisen from the church's ambivalent attitude towards Erasmus. Despite these difficulties, and perhaps because of the patronage of More, Berthelet's career flourished. In 1526 he obtained a general privilege for his books, which offered some protection from harassment by the church, and in 1530 he succeeded Pynson in the prestigious office of King's Printer. During the thirties Berthelet was involved with Grafton and Whitchurch in the printing of English Bibles, and in 1540 Cromwell allowed him to print a cheap edition for private reading. As King's printer Berthelet was also Cromwell's main agent in the propaganda campaign for the supremacy, and apart from negotiating with authors on Cromwell's behalf he also offered his own patronage to men like Richard Morison.

By the time of Edward's succession Berthelet was an elderly man, but he remained a stationer of great influence and distinction within the trade. Despite losing the royal office to Grafton, he continued to use the title of King's printer after the death of the old King, presumably as a courtesy. (1) Under Henry he had employed some of the receipts of his office, which had amounted in 1542 to £72 and in 1544 to £117, in the purchase of several parcels of ex-monastic land, so that by Edward's accession he had become landlord to a considerable number of Londoners, and several of his own workers and bookbinders were also his tenants. The printers often called him in to arbitrate between disputing stationers, and generally treated him as something of an elder statesman. Under Edward, Berthelet's office issued over fifty editions, possibly under the direction of his nephew Thomas Powell. This output includes some legal works, but the majority were humanist and classical texts, with six editions of Erasmus, six of Elyot, including two copies of his Dictionary, and works by Vives, Guevara, Isocrates, Xenophon and Cicero. In general he avoided controversial publications, but he seems to have been committed to the protestant cause, for his will, published at the height of the Marian reaction, contains the modest testimony, "I bequeath my wretched and sinful soul to the merciful hands of Almighty God my only creator, redeemer and saviour." No mention is made of the heavenly company, or of provision for soul masses, the directions for his funeral being simply that it be "done in such wise as for my degree shall be thought meet." (2) His funeral was in

(1) Grafton was only granted his annuity of £4 on the death of Berthelet.

(2) P.C.C. 35 More. Sept. 1555. *Prob. 11*, 37.

fact a splendid affair, and was attended by the whole of the Stationers' Company, but Machyn, who describes the ceremony, and is usually so detailed in these affairs, makes no mention of masses.(1)

Apart from this will, evidence of Berthelet's religious persuasions is lacking, but he seems to have progressed from the eirenic humanism which he derived from Erasmus to a position close to that of his patron and colleague, Thomas Cromwell. His involvement in Cromwell's campaigns for the English Bible and the Royal Supremacy, appear to have left him convinced of the Henrician position, though he could certainly not be described as an evangelical. (2)

Another printer of known reforming views was also an old colleague of Cromwell. He was Reyner Wolf, the German printer, who was probably connected in some way to the Frankfort family of scholar-printers, for his type faces are similar to the Frankfort Wolfs'. Wolf had gained entry to the Stationers' through the good offices of Anne Boleyn, and he was used both by Cromwell and Cranmer as a courier and unofficial envoy to the Germans on his trips to the Continental fairs. In 1539 he received payment of £100 for his work in this capacity, and it is clear that he was on terms of considerable intimacy with Cranmer, Bullinger, Bucer and other leading reformers. Parker was later to refer to him affectionately as "our friend Reyner." As a printer, Wolf enjoyed the particular patronage of Cranmer and later of Parker and Whitgift, and he was clearly a man of some education, for he also held the Edwardian patent in books in Latin, Greek and Hebrew. As "His Majesty's bookseller and stationer" he received an annuity of 26s. 8d. and monopoly rights in all copies first printed by himself. Like Grafton, Whitchurch and Berthelet, he held

(1) Machyn, p. 95.

(2) L. & P., vol. XV., pp. 329, 514.
vol. XVIII., part 2, pp. 108, 125, 143.
vol. XIX., part 1, pp. 241, 497.
vol. XIX., part 2, pp. 191, 353.
vol. XX., part 1, p. 307.

Foxe, vol. V., p. 826.

Arber, Manuscripts, vol. 1., pp. 33, 34, 35, 41, 70, etc.

Duff, Century, p. 11.

F. Isaac, op. cit. 2-8

H.R. Plomer, 'New Documents on English Printers' in I.B.S.,
vol. IV., (1896 - 8,) p. 153.

C. Sayle, 'Initial letters in Early English Printed Books'
in I.B.S., vol. VII., (1902 - 4,) p. 15.

See also below page 239.

aloof from the street controversies of Edward's reign, but his close links with continental reformers and with leading protestant clerics at home put him in some danger from a catholic reaction. (1)

A generation younger than Wolf, though like him a committed Protestant was the prolific printer, John Day. Day began work some time before 1546, and at about the beginning of Edward's reign he entered into partnership with William Seres, the two of them running two shops, both under the sign of the Resurrection, one by Holborn conduit and the other by the little Conduit in Cheapside. In 1549 Day left the Holborn premises to set up his office at Aldersgate, which he built on the wall near the parish gate of St. Anne. By the time he transferred from the Stringers to the Stationers in 1551, he was quite a wealthy man, and it seems clear that he was also an educated man. William Baldwin and John Foxe were among his close friends and under Elizabeth he was encouraged by Parker to produce works of typographical excellence.

Day held two Edwardian patents, the first, acquired in 1552, for English catechisms and A.B.Cs., and the second, granted on 25 March 1553, "to print a catechism which the King has set forth, and all works of Ponet and Thomas Becon." (1) This second license was apparently a clarification of the first as a result of the rivalry between Wolf, who held the classics patent, and Day, over the right to print Ponst's catechism. Under Elizabeth he was again to demonstrate his taste for monopolies.

Day was the most important of all the protestant printers of Edward's reign, possessing both money and vigour (he had twenty-two children) and also a taste for polemic which some of the older printers lacked. He had a hand in over 140 productions in Edward's reign, almost all of them works of protestant theology or controversy. This remarkable output raises the question of Day's precise role in their production. His partnership with Seres was evidently involved in commissioning works from other printers, Meirdman for example printing several works for them, but of the two, Day rather than Seres seems to have been the printing partner, Seres being, at least to begin with, a financier and organiser.

By 1549, when Day moved into his Aldersgate offices, he was evidently printing on a large scale, for he was able to give employment to a considerable number of foreign refugees. Why Day should have proved so hospitable to the strangers is an interesting question. To some

(1) Patent Roll 7, Ed. VI, part III., Roll 853 m. 23.

extent it was probably out of sympathy with co-religionists, but Day seems to have had unusually strong links with the city of Antwerp, that home of religious polemic. As well as employing refugees from that city, he also co-operated with Lynne and Mierdman, both of whom came from Antwerp. Day's commitment to the protestant religion was evident from the exclusively controversial output of his presses, from his support for religious refugees, and from his friendship with noted hot-gospellers like Underhill, Bacon and Ponet. He was also linked to the Edwardian regime by virtue of his patents, and must have viewed the accession of Mary with concern. (1)

Richard Jugge must have felt similar misgivings as Edward's life drew to a close. Like so many of these Edwardian stationers, he was an educated man, having been schooled at Eton and King's College, Cambridge. Jugge was a generation older than Day and had been running a bookshop since 1530, for in that year the petty canons of St. Paul's leased him "their shop with a Chimney in it". (2) This was probably the premises which was later known as the Sign of the Bible, at the north door of St. Paul's, from which Jugge began to operate as a publisher at the beginning of Edward's reign. The sign was well chosen to advertise the New Testaments in which Jugge specialised. There is some doubt about whether Jugge actually printed on his own account before 1551. (3) He seems to have been occupied during the first years of Edward's reign in the publication and sale of the works of printers like Mierdman. A typical production to find its way into his shop at this time would have been A declaration of the twelve articles of the christen faythe, by Urbanus Regius, which was translated

(1) Dom. Cal, 1547-80, Edward VI, vol.XV, (1552), No.3., p.44.
Span. Cal, vol.XIII, p.62-3, 67.

A.P.C., vol.III, p.380.

Foxe, vol.VI., p.610, Vol.VIII, Appendix No.VI.

Arber, Transcripts, vol. I., pp. xxviii, 50, 74, etc.

Machyn, p. 72.

N. of R., pp. 144, 147, 172.

Stow, op. cit., vol.II., p.275n.

Duff, Century., p. 38-9.

Isaac, op. cit, 81-87.

W.W.Greg, 'Books and Bookmen in the Correspondence of Archbishop Parker.', in The Library, fourth series, vol.XVI, (1936,) p. 243.

Worman, p.14 and 15.

See also below page 228.

(2) Dom. Cal, Eliz., vol. XVI, p. 173, No.46.

(3) C.Clair, 'On the Printing of Certain Reformation Books', in The Library, vol. XVII, fifth series, (1963,) p.275.

*C.L.Oastler,
 John Day, the Elizabethan Printer
 Oxford, 1975.*

by Lynne, states that it was "Imprinted for G. Lynne, 1548, to be sold...in the signe of the Bibell by R. Jugge" and was printed by Mierdman. (1) However, by 1550 Jugge certainly had a press of his own, for in that year he applied for and obtained a license to print the New Testament in English, and began his career as a Bible printer with a fine edition of Tyndale's translation. Jugge may have learnt the craft of printing from Mierdman, for his works show traces of the Dutchman's influence. At least seventeen books were printed at the sign of the Bible during Edward's reign, including seven editions of the New Testament and one complete Coverdale Bible. The rest were mainly theological works including productions of Calvin Hooper, Turner and Parker, the only secular book to be issued by Jugge being Hooper's translation of the second book of Tertullian, which was printed for him by Hill. He also sold Copland's edition of Paynell's The piththy and moost notable sayinges of al Scripture.

There can be no doubt of Jugge's protestant convictions. His will, dated August 1577, contains a statement of his faith:

"I bequeath my Soul and Spirit into the hands of Almighty god my heavenly father, by whose special grace I trust to be saved, and to enjoy eternal rest, through the merits of my only Saviour and Redeemer Jesus Christ, in whose precious bloodshedding I set the whole and only hope of my salvation. And my wretched body I commit to the earth in the hope of a joyful Resurrection."

Among many bequests, he left a copy of Estienne's 1550 Greek Testament to his old college, King's. (2)

As a protestant, an associate of the exiled community, and an Edwardian patent holder, Jugge stood in some danger from a catholic reaction. William Seres was in an even graver position, for his links with the ruling group under Edward were closer than Jugge's. Seres was a protégé of Cecil's, a young man of remarkable energy, and possibly of some wealth, who had a hand in at least one hundred publications during Edward's reign, all but half a dozen of them being works of protestant propaganda.

(1) S.T.C. 20843.

(2) Will, P.C.C. 40 Daughtrey, August 1577, *Prob. II*, 59.
 A.P.C., Vol. IV., p.73.
 Arber, Transcripts, Vol. I., pp. xxviii, 46, 50, 62, 66,
 72, etc.

Isaac, *op.cit.* 58-61.

Duff, Century, p.82.

Worman, p. 35.

See also below page 226.

Seres did not own a press of his own, and operated from a number of premises in a variety of partnerships and collaborations. Of the many printers who worked with him the two most important were John Day and Anthony Scoloker, with whom he produced the bulk of his books. Whether Seres's part in these various enterprises was as a freelance printer, or as a financier, is difficult to decide, but his later career in the Stationers' Company suggests that he was a wealthy man, and the fact that he was connected in some way with most of the printing houses producing protestant polemic indicates that he may have been the organiser of the effort to educate and convert the people through the press. Whether his patron Cecil was aware of his role in the campaign is an interesting question, (1) In 1553 Seres's office in St. Peter's College was taken over by the Stationers when they made the college their Hall, and Seres moved to the sign of the Hedge Hog in St. Paul's churchyard. He probably obtained a press at the same time, for with the help of Cecil, he gained a patent in primers and books of private devotion. This patent, together with his high output of protestant pamphlets, his links with the court, and his possible role as orchestrator of the protestant campaign placed him in a difficult position in the summer of 1553. (2)

Anthony Scoloker, Seres's partner in many productions, was less compromised professionally on the accession of Mary, for he had no connection with the court or church of Edward, and possessed no patents. But Scoloker was clearly a committed protestant and had probably spent the last years of Henry's reign on the continent. He used the knowledge of German which he had acquired in these years to translate protestant tracts for the London printers in Edward's reign, and his own press was dedicated exclusively to the cause of reform. By 1548 his sympathies appear to have been with the Swiss rather than the German protestants, for he referred to his premises in the Savoy rents as 'Geneva in Savoy' in the false imprint to Roderyck

(1) See below page 323.

(2) Patent Roll, 7. Edward VI., part 3, Roll 953 m. 35.
 1. Elizabeth., part 4, Roll 941 m. 7.
 Arber, Transcripts, Vol. 1., pp xxviii, 38, 42, 46,
 50, 62, etc.

Isaac, op. cit. 95.

Duff, Century, p.145.

See also below page 226.

1553. Seres moved to the sign of the Hedge Hog in St. Paul's churchyard. The Hedge Hog was the emblem of the Sidney family.

Mors' Complaint. (1) There was a strong possibility that in the event of a catholic reaction Scoloker would again find it necessary to seek refuge abroad. (2)

Scoloker had begun his work in Ipswich, and it was there that John Oswen set up a press in 1548. It is possible that Oswen was abroad with Scoloker in the early forties, for two productions of 1541, Melancthon's Very Godly Defense, defending the mariage of Priestes and Sawtry's The defence of the mariage of priestes used types later found in Oswen's possession, though the tracts themselves bear the imprints Ubricht, Hoffe, Leipsig, and Jan Troost, Auryk. (3) In December 1548 Oswen moved to Worcester and set up his office in the High Street, and the following month he obtained a license for service books and prayer books, and "all manner of books containing any story or exposition of God's holy scripture...within our Principality of Wales and marches of the same." Since these prayer books were not actually in Welsh, this would seem at first glance to be an infringement of the patent granted to Grafton and Whitchurch, (4) but the London partnership was working at full stretch, and Oswen's two editions of the 1549 book, and one of the 1552, were probably greeted with some relief by the Londoners. Oswen stuck to the terms of his patent, printing, among at least twenty seven Edwardian productions, only one which was not "tendering the godly edifying and ease of our loving subjects within our principality of Wales." This was a copy of the Laws and Statutes, 7 Edward VI which he printed in 1553, perhaps on the strength of his quasi-official position as printer for Wales. As well as his office in Worcester, Oswen had an outlet for his publications in Shrewsbury. (5)

Oswen's patent, and the position which it gave him within the government's campaign for the reformation of the whole realm, was likely to be an embarrasment to him in the event of a return to the old religion. Humphrey Powell was in a similar position. Humphrey was

(1) S.T.C. 3750.

(2) See below page 229.
Worman, p. 59.
Duff, Century, p.144.
Isaac, op. cit. 94.

(3) A Jacob Auryk had worked for the English market at Emden in the 30s. (Duff, p. 4.)

(4) Patent Roll, 2 Ed. 1V, part 1, Roll. 808 m. 14.

(5) Duff, Century, p. 116.
Isaac, op. cit. 110-111.

related to the London printer William Powell. In 1551 he was granted the title of King's printer in Dublin, and was given £20 to help towards the setting up of an office in Ireland. He issued one copy of the Prayer Book in Dublin in 1551 and produced a certain amount of protestant polemic. His appointment was clearly part of the evangelical campaign, and he was presumably known by the government as a suitably committed protestant to whom to trust the education of the Irish, but his religious sympathies are otherwise unknown. (1)

The position of Hugh Singleton in 1553 was less difficult than that of Osuan or Powell in that he was not identified by patents with the policy of Edward's Government. But Singleton, like Scoloker, was a fervant gospeller, who had spent the last years of Henry's reign learning printing and protestantism on the continent. Returning to London in 1548 he set up shop at the sign of St. Augustine in Paul's churchyard, where he printed a number of protestant tracts and employed several exiled printers, though most of his work was probably done at his second office at the Double Hood in Thames Street, to which he moved sometime in Edward's reign. This was near to the Steelyard, and offered the chance to maintain links with protestant friends abroad. Singleton was still a young man and his opinions seem to have been of an uncompromising turn, for according to Garrett he was the "Shengleton" who was committed to the Marshalsea in May 1553 for slandering Northumberland. If so, he must have been a fiery young man, and his religious views, and friendship with John Foxe and other reformers made it unlikely that he would prove conformable in the event of a Catholic reaction. He was also compromised by his close links with Mierdman, Lynne and the Dutch church. (2)

(1) A.P.C., Vol. 111, p.84.

For Powell's position as King's Printer in Ireland see colophon of his Boke of Common Prayer, S.T.C. 16277.

Arber, Transcripts, Vol.1, p. xxviii.

Duff, Century, p.124.

Isaac, 112.

(2) See below p.229.

A.P.C., Vol. 1V, p.269.

Arber, Vol. 1, p.90.

Worman, pp. 62 & 63.

Duff., Century, p.148.

Isaac, op. cit., 113-119

C.Garrett, 'The resurreccion of the masse by Hugh Hilarie - or John Bale (?)' in the Library, Vol. XXI, fourth series (1940-41) p.143

H.J.Byrom, 'Edmund Spenser's first printer, Hugh Singleton' in the Library Vol. XIV, fourth series, (1933-4,) p.121.

Another outspoken protestant was the poet and social reformer Robert Crowley. Another educated man, fellow of Magdalen College Oxford, Crowley ran a book shop in the Ely Rents in Holborn for the first part of Edward's reign. Among the books which he published there were his own tracts, including social and moral commentary as in the Informacion and Peticion of 1548, and several pamphlets warning of the Last Judgment when all men's works would be weighed. (e.g. Pleasure and Payne, 1550) Apart from writing on behalf of the religious and moral reformation for which he yearned, and apart from crossing swords with the redoubtable champion of the catholic cause, Miles Huggard, Crowley also found time to edit old English texts, in particular the Lollard Prolog to the Bible, and The vision of Pierce Plowman, three editions of which appeared in 1550. Crowley also collaborated with William Salisbury in an enlightened attempt to bring the gospel to the Welsh in their own language. In order to do this it was necessary to familiarise the public with printed Welsh, and so Crowley and Salisbury produced a Welsh Grammar, following this with an edition of the gospels in Welsh.

Between 1549 and 1551 at least twenty-one books appeared with Crowley's name on them, though whether he was actually involved in the printing of them is still open to question. They have been assigned to Grafton and Jugge, but the evidence for this suggestion seems thin, and there does not seem to be any conclusive proof that Crowley was not running a press at the Ely rents in these years. A venture such as the Welsh gospels would have been far more feasible if Salisbury and Crowley were themselves in charge of the printing operation. But if Crowley had worked as a printer, all such activity ceased in 1551 when Ridley ordained him deacon and priest. He maintained close links with the Stationers for the rest of his life, and under Elizabeth assisted them both as a censor of copies and a preacher at their functions. He was even admitted a freeman of the Company in 1578, having resigned his living over the question of vestments. As a Stationer, Crowley took apprentices, but does not seem to have published any books, his main task being to deliver the annual sermon. By this date he must have been quite an old man. During Edward's reign Crowley had been closely connected with the court, and with protestant aristocrats like Lady Fane, whose psalms he published in 1550. It was these connections, and his outspoken

reforming views which placed him in a difficult position in 1553. (1)

William Baldwin was another poet with close connections with the printing trade. Baldwin was evidently a protestant, for he was later ordained and preached at St. Paul's Cross in 1563 "wishing a gallows set up in Smithfield and the old bishops and other papists to be hanged thereon." (2) Under Edward, Baldwin was employed at court as superintendent of plays, but he also worked as a corrector in Whitchurch's office, and was a member of the Stationers' Company. It is possible that he printed on his own account, for his name appears on one book issued from the Whitchurch press, The Canticles or Balades of Solomon, 1549. But it is more likely that he supervised the production of the book, which was his own metrical version of the Song of Solomon. Poetry seems to have been Baldwin's main occupation and apart from the Canticles he also collaborated with other poets on the Mirror for Magistrates, and A Memorial of suche Princes as..have been unfortunate. Neither of these appeared before 1553, but Baldwin's Treatise of Morall Philosophie was printed by Whitchurch in 1547, and he also had some connection with the light-hearted production, Beware the Cat. According to the poet who replied to this, it was composed in John Day's office in Aldersgate in 1552 and published by Baldwin.

Baldwin's position in Whitchurch's office and his trenchantly protestant views might have been expected to cause him some trouble under Mary, though his religious opinions may have developed later. His own works under Edward display a predominate concern for social and moral rather than religious reform. Nevertheless he was evidently a partisan of the fallen Somerset, and his friends were drawn mainly from Somerset's circle. (3)

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- (1) Foxe, vol. VII., p. 759.
Stow, op. cit., vol. I., p. 300; vol. II., p. 339 n.
Arber, Transcripts, vol. I., p. xl, 514.
Duff, Century, p. 35.
Isaac, op. cit., 125-130.
O.E. Illston, R. Crowley; unpublished M.A. thesis, London, 1953.
See also below, page 237.
- (2) Stow, op. cit., vol. I. p. x.
- (3) A.P.C., vol. IV., p. 210.
Arber, Transcripts, vol. I., p. xxviii.
Stow, vol. II, p. 275.
A Short Answer to the Booke called Beware the Cat, Society of Antiquaries' Book of Broad-sides, No. 13.
Duff, Century, p. 6.
Isaac, op. cit. 124.
E.I. Feasey, 'The licensing of the "Mirror for Magistrates"', in the Library, vol. III., fourth series, (1922,) p. 177.
H.J. Byrom, 'John Wayland - Printer, Scrivener and Litigant', in the Library, vol. XI, fourth series, (1930,) p. 312.
See also below, page 239. (199)

As 1553 progressed and Edward's health deteriorated, considerable concern must have been felt by the many foreigners who had found refuge from religious persecution in London. In particular there were five printers of foreign origin who had been closely associated with the work of the Edwardian government, and whose protestant faith was widely known. Walter Lynne had come to England, probably from Antwerp, in 1540, and by 1547 had become an influential publisher, working from the premises of the Spread Eagle next to St. Paul's school. Lynne was also a translator and was kept busy throughout Edward's reign translating texts for the protestant printers, among them Regius's, A declaration of the twelve articles of the christen faythe, (Mierdman for Jugge), Luther's A frutefull exposition of the kynqdom of Christ, (Day ?) and Carion's Thre bokes of chronicles, (J. Day.). He himself published or financed these books, and his business as a publisher and bookseller evidently prospered, for he had capital to invest and in 1549 acquired a license to import wine and dyes. Lynne was fortunate to enjoy the patronage of Cranmer, for whom he published Justus Jonas's Catechism, the printing apparently being done by another of the Dutch printers, Nicholas Hill. He also worked for Somerset, and published for him the translation by Coverdale of Werdmueller's Spyrytual and moost precyouse pearle, to which Somerset had written a preface. On 1 December 1547 Lynne obtained a patent to print "a book which is called in our vulgar tongue 'the begynnyng and endyng of all popery or popish kingdom' and all other manner of books consonant to godliness." His rights in his copies were guaranteed for seven years, on pain of a £100 fine.

As a member of the Dutch Church at Austin Friars Lynne dedicated his publishing business to the production of serious theological works and scriptural aids, including his own Briefe collection of all such texts. The printer of many of his ventures was his friend, and possibly his guest at Somers Quay, Stephen Mierdman. (1) Mierdman was also from Antwerp, and had learned his trade in the office of Mattheus Crom. Troubled for printing hostile literature in Antwerp, he fled to England in 1549 and settled in Billin^ggate with Lynne. Even before he came to England, Mierdman had been engaged in printing protestant books for the English market, using false imprints in order

(1) Patent Rolls, 1 Ed. VI., Part III, Roll 801 m. 25.
 Foxe, VIII., p. 57.
 Worman, pp. 37 and 38.
 Duff, Century, p. 95.
 Isaac, op. cit. Appendix.
 See also below, page 239.

to escape the detection of the Antwerp authorities. For example, Coverdale's Shorte Recapitulacion of Erasmus Enchiridion appeared under the imprint of Adam Anonimus of Ausborch. After Edward's accession Mierdman increased his output for the London stationers, printing works for both Jugge and Lynne, and after he had settled in Billingsgate he also printed for Abraham Vele, Crowley and Day. But Lynne remained his main collaborator, and most of his productions were sold in the bookshop of the Spread Eagle, which was run for Lynne by John Gybkyn. Like Lynne, Mierdman was a member of the Dutch church, and did any printing which that community required, (1) but he also printed considerable quantities of literature for the English market, both secular and religious. As a member of the Dutch church, a refugee from religious persecution, and employer of other refugees, and as a printer of religious polemic, he was clearly threatened by Mary's accession. He also held an Edwardian patent, having been granted in 1550, following his denization, a license for five years to print various books hitherto unprinted, and to employ printers, English and foreign. (2)

The French printer, Thomas Gaultier also held an Edwardian patent, this time for French service books, and also enjoyed the title of King's printer in the French language. The place of this patent in the general policy of the government will be discussed in Chapter III; Gaultier presumably acquired it through the good offices of his patron Somerset. It was Somerset who backed the Frenchman in his attempt to gain access to the Stationer's Company, but despite the fact that Gaultier was a denizon, had been in England for many years and was married to an Englishwoman, the Stationers refused to admit him. Evidently Gaultier lacked sufficient money to buy his admission, for he appears to have worked mainly as a jobbing printer for other stationers. As a result, his output was a mixed bag, including a French Prayer Book, Le livre des prières communes, de l'administration en l'eglise d'Angleterre, and a French New Testament, but also a Sarum Primer, a copy of the News greete abregement for Kele, Seres and Powell, and Reynard the Fox.

(1) e.g. a Lasco's works De catechismus (1551), Compendium doctrinae (1551) and Brevis de sacramentis tractatio (1551 - 2) S.T.Cs. 15260, 15263 15259.

(2) Worman, pp. 44 and 45 (gives details of his books).

Duff, Century, p. 105.

Isaac, op. cit. 133 - 136.

Colin Clair, 'On the Printing of Certain Reformation Books', in the Library, vol. XVIII, fifth series, (1963,) p. 275

See also below, page 238.

Between 1550 and 1553 Gaultier printed about a dozen books, mostly for other stationers. His situation as a foreigner made it difficult for him to trade in his own right unless he had a royal license, and his license was limited to French service books. The list of titles printed by him cannot therefore be relied upon as an indication of his own opinions, for he had to print whatever was commissioned, but most of his output was protestant, and the patronage of Somerset, and tenure of an Edwardian license suggest that he was known to be committed to reform. In any case, his position in the event of a catholic reaction was likely to be uncomfortable.(1)

Like Gaultier, Nicholas Hill had been in England for many years, having arrived in 1519 and taken letters of denization in 1544. Like Gaultier again, he did not have his own bookshop, but printed for a number of London stationers. He was very prolific and almost every stationer appears to have used him at some time. Hill was a senior of the Dutch Church in 1531, which must be evidence of strong protestant beliefs, for he had been in England for many years when the congregation was formed, and it was not for him, as for newly arrived refugees, the natural centre for his religious activities. He presumably chose to join it because the form of worship and church discipline practised there was in accord with his own beliefs.(2) He employed several foreigners in his office, and sometimes worked for Walter Lynne, but his closest friend among the exiles was Egidius van der Erve, a Flemish printer who arrived in London in 1550 or thereabouts, with his wife Anna, and joined Hill as an official of the Dutch Church. Erve used various pseudonyms, including Gellium Ctermatius and possibly Collinus Volkwinner, but he seems to have produced little while he was in London, issuing only three Dutch handbooks written by Micron for the use of the Dutch Church. It was after Mary's accession and Erve's flight abroad that he began to direct his printing to the English market. (3)

(1) Pardon Roll Mary I (Supplementary Patent Roll. 65) m.7.

Duff, Century, p. 53.

Isaac, op. cit. 131, 132.

See below page 228

(2) Worman, pp. 30 - 31.

Duff, Century, p. 72.

Isaac. op. cit. 88 - 91.

See below page 238

(3) Worman, pp. 18 - 21. (Gives details of his books)

Duff, Century, p. 44.

F. Isaac, 'Egidius vander Erve and his English Printed Books', in the Library, fourth series, vol. XII, (1931,) p. 336.

See also below, page 238.

The printers listed above were all known protestants, and all had some connection with the ruling circle of Edward's reign. They represent a large section of the printing community, including several of the wealthiest and most influential stationers in London. But before we can make a final estimate of the strength of the reforming camp among the printers, there are several more stationers who deserve consideration. The first two are known protestants who were active as booksellers under Edward but did little or no printing or publishing and so left few books with their names on. John Turke had been in trouble several times under Henry. He had abjured once before 1540, had published several of the Cromwell ballads in 1540 and spent some time in prison in 1543 for publishing, ("sending to print") the Postilla upon the Gospels. Turke began work at the sign of the Rose in Paternoster Row, and later moved to the Cock in Paul's churchyard. His contributions to the various collections made by the Stationers show that he was not a rich man, but he was clearly well thought of by the brotherhood, and his son followed him into the Company. During Edward's reign he only ventured on half a dozen cheap publications, including two almanacks, Pedro's The castell of love, and Bank's ballad A lamentation of the death of Henry the eyght. On the other hand he did have Lancaster's The ryght and trew understandynge of the supper of the Lord printed for him in 1550 (?) by Whitchurch, and he also published a commentary on the 82nd Psalm. Duff lists a copy of the King's and Queene's Psalms as being published by him as well.(1)

Another old protestant who had weathered several storms under Henry was Michael Lobley. We have no books from Edward's reign with his name attached, but several references to him in the Stationer's Company registers prove that he was still active in the book trade. He was possibly prevented from embarking on any publications by financial difficulties, for he had never been a wealthy man, and by the time he died in 1567 he was in debt to the Company. His shop at the sign of St. Michael was probably devoted entirely to bookbinding at this time, for Lobley was primarily a binder by profession. Lobley and

(1) A.P.C. Vol.1. pp 120, 129.
Arber, Transcripts, Vol. 1. pp.xxviii, 33, 46, 50, 66, 86, 89 etc.
Duff, Century, p.159
Isaac, English & Scottish Printing Types, Appendix.

Turke appear to have taken little or no part in the propaganda boom of Edward's reign, but as known protestants and old enemies of the ecclesiastical authorities they were likely to run into difficulties during a period of religious reaction. (1)

John Wight was a young man in Edward's reign and a member of the Draper's Company, but in common with several other drapers he worked as a stationer throughout his life. His address, the Rose, Paul's churchyard, may possibly have been the premises of John Turke, though Turke's was given as the Rose, Paternoster Row. Whether or not he was working for Turke, Wight produced at least ten books during Edward's reign, of which seven were religious, including works by Bale, Bradford, Coverdale and Melancthon. His will, published decades later in 1589, reads,

"first and principally I commend my soul into the hands of almighty god my maker and creator, most steadfastly believing and affirming myself to have and enjoy life everlasting through the precious blood of Christ. Jesus shed on the cross for the remission of my sins".. (2)

He adds a number of charitable bequests. The evidence of this will cannot be called upon to prove that Wight was a protestant in 1553, but in this case the evidence of his output does support such an interpretation. (3)

As we have already seen the printing of protestant polemic at a time when such literature was in great demand cannot be used as conclusive proof that the printer was a protestant. On the other hand when a printer devoted his press exclusively to the production of such tracts the possibility that he was committed to the cause has to be allowed. William Copland did not give his press over entirely to such productions, but he did produce at least twenty two reforming tracts under Edward, including several scriptural works and some street literature, such as Moone's A short treatyse of ... thinges abused, 1548 and The dysclosyng of the canon of the popysh masse, 1549. Copland had inherited his father's shop, the Rose Garland in Fleet Street, in 1548, and he printed steadily throughout Edward's reign. He worked as a jobbing printer for a number of stationers, nearly

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- (1) Foxe, Vol.V, pp. 35, 386, 412.
Arber, Transcripts, Vol. 1, pp. xxviii, 46, 50, 66, 73, 78, 86 etc.
Duff, Century, p.93.
- (2) P.C.C. 63 Leicester, *Prob. 11*, 74.
- (3) Arber, Vol.1. pp. 94, 97, 111 etc.
Duff, Century, p.170.

everyone employing him at some time or another, and the list of his titles reflects the varied nature of his commissions. His own preference was apparently for the old verse Romances, which he produced in considerable numbers, possibly from old de Worde copies. Copland's religious affiliations can only be guessed at, but it is at least worth glancing at his output under Mary to see whether those twenty two protestant tracts meant anything more than twenty two commissions. There is also an interesting reference in Foxe (1) to a master Copland who was a friend of the heretical merchant Thomas Sommers. This could possibly be Robert Copland, William's father, who was a well known figure in the city. If so, then William must have come under the influence of protestant views at some time in his life. (2)

William Hill's output was far more uncompromising. From his premises at the Green Hill in Paul's churchyard, where he worked as a printer and book binder, he issued about twenty-five Edwardian editions, every one of them devoted to the cause of reform. Hill only printed during the boom years of 1548-1550, but he continued to bind apprentice stationers until his death in 1586, and his son was free of the stationers. Possibly he was drawn into the printing trade by the hope of making a quick profit, or possibly he was enthusiastic for the evangelical cause. Whatever the reason, he ceased printing in 1550 and concentrated for the rest of his career on binding. He was not a rich man, being assessed for the Bridewell collection of 1556 at only 8d., and he may have been one of those small scale printers who were driven out of the printing trade by the combination of rising costs and falling prices. (3)

Another printer who devoted his press almost exclusively to protestant literature was Thomas Raynalde. Raynalde had been John Day's master before the young printer had set up his own business, and during Edward's reign he printed about forty books all but half a dozen of them for the reformers. Among these productions were two

(1) Foxe, Vol. V, p.452.

(2) A.P.C., Vol.V, p.247.
 Arber, Vol.1, pp. xxviii, 47, 51, 79, 93, 96.
 Duff, Century, p.32.
 Isaac, op.cit. 104-108.
 see below p. 241.

(3) Arber, Transcripts, Vol.1.p. 114.
 Arber, Vol.1, pp. xxviii, 41, 45 , 46, 50, 62 etc.
 Duff, Century, p.73.
 Isaac, op.cit. p. 109.

complete editions of the Matthew Bible, in 1549 and 1551, and a translation of Roesslerin's The Birth of Mankynde, dedicated to Queen Catherine Parr. Raynalde was an educated man, possibly a doctor, and his connections with Day and with Catherine Parr bear out the evidence of his output, that he was probably committed to reform. He was not a poor man, and although he often worked in collaboration with other stationers, and especially with William Hill, his choice of copies was not dictated by commissions. (1)

Robert Stoughton also produced a diet of almost unvaried protestant polemic. From his office at the sign of the Bishop's Mitre in Ludgate he issued a total of seventeen Edwardian works, fourteen of them being religious tracts. Whether Stoughton's output was the result of conviction or of commercial nous is hard to say, for he died before the catholic reaction had a chance to probe his motivation. But his concentration on tracts concerning the sacrament does seem to suggest some personal interest in this thorny theological issue, and his collaboration with Robert Crowley also indicates a protestant involvement. (2)

The inclusion of these stationers in the number of those committed in some degree to the cause of reform gives us a total of twenty-four stationers and printers out of a community which numbered about eighty during Edward's reign. Attached in some degree to this radical section of the trade were several small scale printers and book sellers. John Case, although a member of the Company, was clearly a fairly humble artisan, being assessed at only 4d. in the Bridewell collection. He printed four books under Edward in conjunction with Nicholas Hill, Crowley and Seres. John Gybkyn was also a member of the Company, though he may have been of foreign origin. He managed Walter Lynne's shop at the sign of the Spread Eagle and also sold works by Jugge and other radical printers. William Marten, who printed Lawton's seditious ballad may well have been linked to the radical wing of the stationers, and it seems that Richard Wyer, a member of an otherwise secular-minded family, may have sympathised with

(1) A.P.C., Vol.2, pp. 311, 312 - Raynalde was Mardale's printer. Duff, Century, p.130
Isaac, op.cit. 55-57
Sir D'Arcy Power, 'The Birth of Mankind or the Woman's Book, a Bibliographical Study', in the Library, fourth series, Vol.VIII, (1927,) p.1.

(2) Tracy. R, A brief declaracyon what is a Sacrament.
Tyndale W, A brief declaration of the sacraments.
Vermigli P, A discourse concerning the Sacrament.
Tilney, A song of the Lordes supper.

the protestant cause. Other printers were drawn into the trade in religious literature by the demands of the market, William Powell, for example, producing eight religious tracts between 1547 and 1549, despite the fact that he did not normally print religious works.

One other stationer whom we know to have been an ardent protestant does not appear to have printed anything under Edward, though he was probably already in business. Edward Cater was pilloried in 1555 for "falsifying and razing of a Dispensation granted by the Cardinal". Despite this disgrace, Cater was listed on the Stationers' Charter, as free of the Company. (1) If provincial stationers were also to be taken into account, this list would have to be extended to include, for example, Garbrand Herkes at Oxford and Seygar Nicholson at Cambridge, both noted protestants.

Catholic Printers.

In contrast to this group of protestant printers, containing as it does men of the influence and wealth of Grafton, Whitchurch, Wolf and Bertholet, and energetic young entrepreneurs such as Day, Seres and Singleton, there were few stationers who can be said with any certainty to have been committed to the catholic cause. Thomas Dockwray, the first Master of the Incorporated Company, left an ardently catholic will when he died in 1559;

"first I bequeath my soul to the Blessed Trinity, the father, the son, and the holy ghost, and to the blessed virgin Mary, mother of our Saviour Christ Jesu, and to all the celestial company of heaven..."

He included a bequest to the Fraternity of the blessed name of Jesus, of St. Faith's church, "for the better maintenance of god's Holy Service", and "to the intent to be prayed for every Sunday." (2) As Master of the Company, Dockwray must have had considerable influence with the stationers, but he was not himself a practitioner of the craft, being a notary by profession. It is possible that he owed his position as Master to the assistance which he had rendered the ecclesiastical authorities over several decades in their fight

(1) Strype, E. M. vol. III, p. 219

(2) Arber, Transcripts, vol. I., p. xxxiv.

against heretical literature. He had also acted on behalf of Gardiner during his Edwardian trials. (1)

Among practising stationers the strongest catholic tradition centred on William Rastell and the group at Lincoln's Inn who inherited the traditions of Thomas More. Rastell, a member of Lincoln's Inn, and by Edward's reign an eminent lawyer, had married Winifred, the daughter of More's son-in-law, John Clements. He was no longer active in the book trade, but he still had many friends among the printers, and retained his interest in the book trade. (2)

The Rastells were linked in some way to the large printing house of the Redmans, who specialised in the production of law books. Robert Redman died in 1540 or thereabouts, but William Middleton succeeded to the printing business and carried on the legal tradition of the Redmans. Middleton was active under Edward, producing law books from his premises at the sign of the George next to St. Dunstan's Church in Fleet Street. He was very busy in 1547 and 1548, but he died some time in 1548 and the premises, along with his widow, Elizabeth, passed to William Powell. Middleton apparently inherited the catholic as well as the legal bias of the Rastells and Redmans, for he published Smith's Defence of the blessed masse in 1547, and also produced The four PP. for Heywood in 1545. Heywood had been Rastell's host under Henry, and after the accession of Elizabeth, he joined Rastell in exile. Jasper Heywood later became a Jesuit. (3)

(1) L. & P., 1545, vol. XX., part 1., p. 304

Foxe VI., p. 125.

Duff, Century, p. 40.

Arber, Transcripts, xxviii, 33, 49, 61, 66, 69, 86, etc.

(2) Duff, Century, p.130.

A.W.Reed, 'The Editor of Sir Thomas More's English Works:

William Rastell.' in The Library, fourth series,
vol. 1V,(1923,) p. 25.

(3) John Redman. Duff, Century, p.131, Isaac, op.cit. 53.

John Bale.

Robert Redman. Duff, Century, p.132, Isaac, vol.1, op. cit. 56-60.

Elizabeth Redman/Pickering.

Duff, Century, p.121, Isaac 54.

William Middleton.

A.P.C., vol.1, pp. 107, 117, 120, 121.

Isaac, op. cit. 61.

Duff, Century, p.104.

H.J.Byrom, 'John Wayland - Printer, Scrivener and Litigant', in The Library, vol.XI, (1930 - 31,) fourth series, p.312.

Arber, Transcript, vol.II, p.9, Middleton's will.

Middleton's death in 1548 deprived the Catholic group of one of its few active printers. Nevertheless it must be noted that he did print an edition of Tyndale's Obedience of a Christian Man, and the evidence for his religious sympathies is all circumstantial. His successor, William Powell was certainly not in the Rastell tradition, all the religious books he printed being of the protestant persuasion. He was also connected fairly closely to the Edwardian patentee Humphrey Powell. But Thomas Petit, another law printer, does appear to have stood in the catholic tradition. Petit's output was mainly of law books, but he did print a number of catholic devotional works in the forties, including six Sarum Primers, St. Bernard's A compedius treatyse of well livynge, two editions of the Exhortation unto prayer and one of Savonarolas' Exposycyon upon the 11 psalme. Under both Henry and Edward he was involved in Biblical work, and a Tyndale Testament of 1548 is assigned tentatively to him,(1) but the only controversial work he issued was Smith's A briefe treatyse settinge forth divers truthes, 1547. Petit worked at the sign of the Maiden's Head in Paul's Churchyard, and he usually worked in collaboration with other printers. (2)

By Edward's reign Petit was reaching the end of his career, and he died in 1556. Richard Tottel, on the other hand was at the beginning of his. Tottel had been an apprentice with William Middleton and was probably made free by Middleton's successor, Powell. He took over Henry Smith's printing house at Temple Bar in 1550, was free of the Stationers in 1552, and in 1553 acquired the Hand and Star between the gates of the Temples in Fleet Street. All the major law printers, Rastell, the Redmans, Middleton, Smith and Tottel, worked from Fleet Street where they were on hand for the Inns of Court and law students. This proximity with each other emphasised their position as a distinct group within the body of printers, most of whom were situated in and around Paul's Churchyard. The catholic and humanist traditions inherited by these law printers were further strengthened by the family and business links which bound them together. Richard Tottel had learned his trade in this environment, and was almost certainly Catholic in sympathy during Edward's reign, though he was discreet about such

(1) S T C 2851.

(2) A.P.C., vol.1., pp. 107, 117, 120, 121.

Duff, Century, p. 120.

Isaac, op. cit. 15 and 16.

H.R.Plomer, 'Notices of English Stationers in the Archives of the city of London', in T.B.S., vol. VI, 1900 - 1902, p. 18.

matters and most of the evidence for his religious opinions derives from a later date. (1)

In April he acquired a seven year patent in books of common law; evidence, this, both of his discretion and his wealth, which derived from an affluent family background in Devonshire (his father was Mayor of Exeter). The Stationer's Company also benefited from this prosperity, for in 1552 Tottel joined Seres in defraying the costs of the new Ordinances, and in 1556 he donated a new window to the Hall. Under Edward, Tottel printed no religious books at all, partly because he was occupied with his literary and legal works, but partly, no doubt, because he was out of sympathy with the religious settlement. He was one of only a very few printers who held aloof from the booming market in polemic. His religious views were almost certainly known to his contemporaries, and as a wealthy, well-educated young printer he occupied a key place in the catholic camp, for Middleton was dead, Petit an old man and Rastell no longer active in printing. (2)

Another young stationer of considerable wealth and probable catholic sympathies was John Cawood. Cawood also had links with the Lincoln's Inn group, and was later to become Royal printer to Queen Mary, but in 1553 the evidence for his religious views was very thin. He had set up his press in 1546 at the sign of the Holy Ghost in St. Paul's, after keeping shop with John Birckman for five years. During Edward's reign he printed only half a dozen books, including Osiander's Conjectures of the end of the world, Werdmueller's Spiritual Pearl and a Tyndale Testament. He certainly printed large numbers of Catholic books under Mary, and unlike other Marian printers he did not revert instantly to protestant polemic on Elizabeth's accession, but his views in 1553 were evidently moderate, and he may have become more committed as Mary's reign progressed. Nevertheless

(1) H.J.Byrom, 'Richard Tottell - His Life and Work,' in the Library, (1928), 4th Series, Vol.VIII, p.199.

(2) Arber, Transcripts, Vol.1, pp xxviii, 36, 40, 44, 47, 48, 50, 62, Duff, Century. p.157 70, 95, 96 etc.
Isaac, 137 - 143.

his opinions must have been acceptable for him to be chosen by Mary as her official stationer. (1)

Cawood was a man of some standing among his fellow stationers, occupying the position of Warden of the Company for a large part of Mary's reign. Another printer who was to prove a catholic under Mary was of rather more dubious character. John Wayland, who was a member of the Scriveners and had published half a dozen catholic tracts in the thirties, printed little under Edward because he spent most of the reign trying to extricate himself from debt. Wayland was quite a wealthy man, but he had a taste for dubious commercial enterprises which frequently landed him in trouble. In 1539 he had sold his rights in Hilsey's Primer to John Mayler, giving him to understand that the Primer had been licensed by Cromwell. In later litigation it transpired that the privilege was purely verbal, and not the written license that the law required, and which Mayler apparently believed it to be. From that date until Mary's accession Wayland did little printing, spending most of his time evading the law. He was imprisoned in 1547 after losing three suits for debt at Common Pleas, and was again prosecuted in 1548 and 1549, when he was reported to have gone into hiding in Lincolnshire. At the same time he was apparently engaged in money-lending, so he cannot have been quite without assets. In the 1550s he ran into trouble over a haberdashery debt, and he was back in prison in 1558. This was to be the pattern of the remainder of his life.

Despite these difficulties, Wayland did take part in one or two book ventures under Edward, being assigned three copies in S.T.C., an edition of Bieston's Bayte and snare of Fortune, c.1550, a copy of The Summe of the holy scripture, 1550, and a Sarum Primer, dated 1552. This Primer supports the evidence of Mary's reign that Wayland was a devout catholic, but his will, published in 1572, is devoid of any religious sentiment. And indeed, if the printing of protestant polemic under Edward has to be viewed with care as evidence of protestant convictions on the part of the printer, the printing of catholic literature under Mary, especially by such a sharp business man as Wayland, has also to be looked at with some scepticism. All the same, it does seem that Wayland was a convinced catholic, and he proved more

(1) Patent Rolls, I MaryI, Part 2, Roll 865 m.23.
Arber, Transcripts, Vol.I, pp xxviii, xxxvii, 33, 42, 43, 46, 49, 53, 61, 62, 66, 69, 71, etc.
Duff, Century, p.23.
Isaac, op.cit., 100-103.
see below, p.249.

of an asset to the catholic cause than could have been guessed in 1553.(1)

Unlike Wayland, Robert Toy was clearly a highly respected, and indeed a much liked man. Working from the sign of the Bell in Paul's Churchyard next door to his coreligionist Thomas Petyt, he published about twenty books between 1540 and 1546. These included two Sarum Primers, Smith's Assertion and defence of the sacrament, of the aulter, Gardiner's Detectiō of the deuils sophistrie, and A declaration of such true articles, Peryn's III notable sermons of the sacrament and Savonarola's Exposicyon.. upon the li psalme.

Following Edward's accession, Toy continued to publish conservative tracts, issuing Clerke's Opusculum plane diuinum in 1547 and another edition of Peryn's III Notable sermons in 1548. He also issued a Primer in 1550, and published several biblical works during these years but he kept aloof from the religious controversy, turning instead to romances and ballads to make up his stock. His widow continued this trend after his death in 1556, entering thirty-two ballads in the Stationer's Registers for the year 1557/8 in partnership with John Waley. To a large extent this must have been an attempt by Mistress Toy to protect her rights in those ballads which the Toys had already published, rather than notice that they were about to publish them.

Toy was evidently a popular man, for he was given tuition of Kele's daughter Margaret when that printer died in 1552, and he was also instrumental in making peace between John Holyland and Reyner Wolf. When he died in 1556 the Stationers attended his funeral. In his will he made provision for the making up of tithes, and for various charitable purposes, and left his soul to "almighty God my maker and Redeemer and to all the holy company in heaven". (2)

(1) Will, P.C.C. 9. Peter, *Prob. II*, 55.

Isaac, op.cit. 20-24.

Duff, *Century*, p.167

H.J.Byrom, 'John Wayland - Printer, Scrivener and Litigant' in the *Library*, Vol. XI, fourth series, (1930-31)p.312.

See below p.246.

(2) Will. P.C.C. 41 More. (Robert) *Prob. II*, 37

P.C.C. 24 Morrison (Elizabeth) *Prob. II*, 48.

Arber, Vol.1, pp. 35,46,49,53,61,75-77, 89,95,104 etc.

Isaac, op.cit, Appendix.

Duff, *Century*, p.158.

Toy worked mainly as a publisher, his works being printed for him by other stationers; in particular most of his Catholic copies were printed by John Herford. Herford had begun his career at St. Albans and worked as Abbey Printer until the Abbey was dissolved in 1539. In that year he was involved in some printing which was considered heretical enough for a deputation consisting of Pepwell, Bonham and Tabbe to be sent to fetch him up to London for questioning. The offending publication seems to have been A very declaration of the bond and free will of man. Whatever the outcome of these investigations, Herford settled in London in Aldersgate Street and proceeded to print about twenty-five books most of which were strongly catholic in tone.. He worked mainly for other stationers such as Toy, so that his list of titles cannot be cited as final evidence of his own position, but half of his output was devoted to the catholic cause, and included four editions of Gardiner and three of Smith. On the other hand, two violently protestant tracts also appeared with his imprint, Joye's Refutation of the byshop of Winchesters derke declaratio, 1546, and The Beginning and Endynge of all Popery or Popishe Kynqdom 1548. Possibly Herford's interest in these books was purely commercial, and he was indifferent to their doctrinal content, but this seems unlikely, for his output was exceptionally committed to a catholic standpoint. The only other explanation is that these two copies were the work of his enterprising wife Katherine, since she did print in her own right after John's death in 1548, issuing Hooper's A lesson of the incarnation of Christe, Augustine's Predestination, Erasmus's The Censure and judgement, and a copy of Hunnis's metrical psalmes. These four copies and The Beginning and Endynge of all Popery were printed for protestant publishers like Lynne and Stoughton. How Joye's Refutation came to be printed is an interesting question, but it seems possible that the premises at Aldersgate contained a divided household, with the husband dedicated to the old religion and the wife to the new. (1)

Of all the printers of catholic persuasion, perhaps the most fervent was Robert Caly. As we have seen, Caly spent Edward's reign on the continent printing catholic literature and smuggling it into England. On Mary's accession he returned to London and took over the

(1) L. & P., Henry VIII, Vol. XIV, part 2, No. 315, p. 117.
Duff, Century, p. 70.
Isaac, op.cit., 79-80.

premises at Greyfriars, now Christ's Hospital, following the imprisonment of Richard Grafton. Caly was to give further proof of his commitment to catholicism under Elizabeth, when he was accused of assembling people to hear mass, and once again sought refuge abroad.(1)

By 1553 John Herford was dead, as was Middleton, and Petit and Toy were both old men. In fact of the ten printers known to have sympathised with the catholic point of view only Tottel, Cawood and Caly promised any vigorous support for a catholic campaign; Rastell was no longer active in the trade, Dockwray never had been, and Wayland was busy evading the law. Beside the vigour and commitment of the protestant section of the printing community, this little group of conservatives offered little hope to those looking for a positive counter-attack in the press.

Since the evidence of Mary's reign bears out the view that the commitment of the reforming group among the printers was a genuine rather than a purely commercial one, the question arises as to why the printing community should have been so much more radical in religious matters than the population at large, which was largely apathetic or nostalgic in its religious views. To some extent the answer must lie in the nature of the press as a mass medium. As such it was bound to be used most vigorously by those with an urgent message to impart, and a call for reform or revolution is always more urgent than a defence of the status quo. In the first half of the sixteenth century the protestants were on the attack, with the result that their literature was not only more vigorous, colourful and persuasive than their opponents' but also there was a great deal more of it. Catholic publishers in London who wished to further the cause of orthodoxy were faced with a woeful lack of material, and were forced back on constant repetitions of the works of Gardiner, Smith and Sampson, this rather thin diet being enriched by editions of Erasmus and Savonarola, neither of whom could really be considered bastions of orthodoxy. The enormous energy with which Luther and his followers wrote for the press was not merely a reflection of anti-ecclesiastical indignation or of evangelical fervour but was also a natural extension of their heightened appreciation of the sacramentary nature of the Word of God, both in its narrow scriptural sense and in its wider expository aspect. The evangelical and pastoral import with which the early reformers vested the printing press had the effect of drawing into the trade men whose primary interest was

(1) Arber. Vol.1.pp. 70,94,316.

See also above p.176.

the utilisation of that trade for the furtherance of their religious purposes. The addition of men like Grafton, Whitchurch, Marler and Crowley to a community which was essentially concerned with market trading gave that community a complexion of religious earnestness which was not the norm among trading companies. Another factor working to the advantage of the protestant group within the book trade was the sheer volume of protestant polemic which the London stationers were called upon to handle. The effect of constantly working with such literature must have been to incline at least some of them towards the views which it expressed.

Such an inclination would have been further reinforced by the most informed and vigorous patrons of the press, who from 1533 until 1553 were almost all protestants. The assistance offered first by Cromwell and later by Somerset to reforming authors and printers took the practical form of the granting of patents and privileges to worthy stationers anxious to use their trade to further reform. (1) This help was even extended to alien bookmen, most of them exiled protestants, who applied to them for help in breaching the jealously guarded monopoly privileges of the London stationers. In London, as on the continent, close and often personal links developed between reforming scholars and their printers.

Moreover the spread of protestant attitudes would have met with less resistance among the printers than with most other craftsmen. Like that other pillar of the reformation, the cloth trade, the stationers had maintained close ties with the continental printing centres where many of them had learnt their craft. This continental connection meant that despite their monopolistic tendencies, the stationers remained more receptive to new ideas coming from the continent, and indeed more hospitable to foreign refugees, than the majority of Londoners. The refugees in turn strengthened the protestant convictions of their hosts.

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The problems which the protestant complexion of the book trade was likely to pose for Mary were further complicated by the fact that the stationers were in a better position than many crafts to resist official pressure. The Company was still young,

(1) See Chap. 111.

and had not yet gained exclusive control over all the printers and publishers working in London. (1) As a result, it did not afford the government an efficient medium for discipline or control; even after Incorporation many influential publishers continued to be members of other trades. At the same time the printers proved adept at siting their shops and offices in ecclesiastical liberties, and areas outside the control of the city fathers.

By 1550 there appear to have been no stationers working in Westminster or Southwark, though books were still sold in these areas by hawkers. (2) The vast majority of printers were to be found in and around St. Paul's Churchyard. It was within this area that the Stationer's church, St. Faith's was situated, and so was St. Peter's College, which was acquired in 1554 by the Stationers as their new Hall. The churchyard itself was crowded with bookshops under signs such as the Bell, the White Horse, the Maiden's Head, the Bible, the Black Boy, the Brazen Serpent, the Bishop's Head, the Green Hill, the Hedgehog and the Holy Ghost. Some of these were large printing houses, such as Wolf's offices at the Brazen Serpent, or Cawood's at the Holy Ghost, some were small shops, like the one which Day later acquired. In Creed Lane, Paternoster Row and other alleys in the vicinity of St. Paul's, other stationers and printers worked, and book shops and printing offices continued down Ludgate Hill to Fleet Street, where the prestigious houses of the Sun and the Lucretia stood beside the conduit at Shoe Lane. The Sun had been Wynkyn de Worde's premises and had subsequently housed Robert Copland, John Bydell and Edward Whitchurch. On Mary's accession. the Powells tried to buy it, but they could not raise the capital, and it went to John Wayland. The Lucretia belonged to Thomas Berthelet, who also owned a great deal of property between Fleet Street and Holborn, which he used to house his foreign workmen and binders. Several other printers had their offices in Fleet Street, while at the far end, at Temple Bar, the law printers mentioned above carried on their trade. (3)

(1) See below page 220.

(2) Machyn describes the death in December. 1556 of a "big boy that sold papers and printed books" in Westminster Hall. p.121. Hawking was against the rules of the Company.

(3) Lant and Turke worked in Paternoster Row, King and Marsh in Creed Lane, Robert Stoughton on Ludgate Hill, John Wyer, John Wayland, Griffith and the Cop lands in Fleet Street and Middleton, Powell, Smith, Marsh and Tottel at Temple Bar.

To the north of St. Paul's, printing shops could be found scattered along St. Matins le Grand to Aldersgate, where John Day and the Herfords carried on their business. In the same area was one of the old ecclesiastical liberties at Grey Friars. It was Dr. Adrian, a friend of Cromwell's, who first helped Grafton and Whitchurch to set up the press at Grey Friars, and it may have been its status as a liberty which recommended it to the secretary. If, as was later alleged, it was Gardiner who caused the break up by the French Inquisition of the Paris Great Bible works, indeed, even if the bishop was not involved, the printers would certainly have learned from the experience the value of setting the church authorities at arms length. Those printers who set up shop in premises which belonged to other, and hopefully distant bishops were presumably working on the same principle. (1)

To the East of St. Paul's, bookshops ran along Cheapside, Poultry, where the famous long shop at the stocks housed successively Banks, Kele, Mychell and Alde, and Lombard Street. But it was to the South of the cathedral that most of the foreign bookworkers lived, taking advantage, like the more radical native bookmen of civic or ecclesiastical freedoms. In Blackfriars, and the Bridewell district, and particularly along Shoe Lane, could be found a colony of foreign workmen, mostly bookbinders, whose numbers reached unprecedented heights under Edward, but who were a settled feature of the London book trade under Mary. Here, in Edward's reign, Hubert Danvillier, Nowell Havey, John Pollard, Giles Lauret and Jean le Roux occupied premises along Shoe Lane, while Philippe Cuttier, Thomas Gemini and John Megussher lived in Blackfriars. Another area favoured by foreign and radical printers was at the far end of Thames Street and in Billingsgate Ward. Here Walter Lynne lived and worked, and it was probably his hospitality, and the employment he offered, that attracted several foreigners to the area under Edward. Further west along the river, the Steel yard was the neighbourhood chosen by Hugh Singleton and his foreign assistants. It is possible that Singleton had had some dealings with the merchants of the Steelyard during his years abroad. Whether the immunities enjoyed by the merchants extended to the premises of the Double Hood

(1) e.g. Crowley worked in the Ely Rents in Holborn and Scoloker in the Savoy Rents at Temple Bar.

I have not yet discovered.

A combination of financial difficulties, overcrowding and monopoly practices (1) drove foreign workers to seek the outlying areas of the city, and many of them had their premises outside the city walls. Outside Aldersgate the Herfords, who were themselves foreigners, formed part of a community of foreign bookmen which included the refugee assistants of John Day. Even more remote was Nicholas Hill, who lived and worked in St. John's Street. Possibly, foreign printers were first attracted to this area by the presence of John Mayler, the radical printer who had his office during the forties in Butolph Lane without Aldersgate at the sign of the White Bear. (2) That the siting of offices in the ancient ecclesiastical liberties was effective in protecting printers from the discipline of the bishops of London is demonstrated by the frustration evinced by both Ridley and Bonner at the existence within their diocese of areas which were outside their discipline. In 1555 Bonner enquired "Whether there hath been or now is any notable evil ^{rule and manifest disorder in breaking the laws of God and the ordinances and laudable customs of the} in the late ^{of the} Black Friars, the White Friars, the Grey Friars, Augustinian friars, crutched friars, St. Katherine's or other places in or about the city of London". (3) Among the "notable evils" that Bonner had in mind was undoubtedly the Dutch Church which had occupied premises in the Austin Friars under Edward, but the authorities were clearly very conscious of the printing refugees as well, for the proclamation of February 1554 ordering the departures of aliens, specifically mentioned printers.

The task of any agent charged with the censoring of books was further complicated by the complexity and fluidity of business relationships operating within the trade. Printing was still a relatively new trade, and the clear division of function between publisher, printer and bookseller which emerged during Elizabeth's reign was not apparent under Edward or Mary. Some stationers did confine their activities to one sphere, such as Nicholas Hill, who

(1) See above, p. 9.

(2) Among foreign workers listed in this area were Nicholas Bourman, Nicholas Leblonde, James Wolfrote, Michael van Lendon, Romain Maynmour, Garret Harris and Tyllam van Hambough.

(3) Bonner's Register fol. CCCUX (As a result of a mistake in pagination there are two folios numbered CCCLIX. This reference is to the second folio of that number.) *Guildhall Library London.*

was only a printer, or Abraham Vele who was only a shopkeeper. But men like Grafton, Berthelet or Mierdman acted now as printer, now as publisher, sometimes as sponsor or financier of an enterprise sometimes as bookseller. Berthelet did all his own binding, while Lynne, Copland and Scoloker were among several printers who were also translators and indeed authors in their own right. Crowley's precise role cannot be pinned down with any certainty. Certainly he was both author and publisher, and possibly also printer. Baldwin was another literary man whose precise connexion with the printing trade is hard to define. And just as stationers appear in different publications in a number of different roles, so partnerships between them sprang up and were dissolved within a very short space of time, often only functioning for the production of one or two books. (1) Where a printing venture was likely to be costly several stationers might agree to share the capital outlay, as in the case of Rastell's edition of More's English works, which was printed by Richard Tottle with assistance from John Walley and John Cawood, who supplied some of the type. The result of this collaboration was a very fine book. (2) On other occasions large scale productions were shared out between stationers on the basis not of each stationer fulfilling a separate function, but of each being fully responsible for financing and printing one section of the work, the final production to be uttered for sale by all the stationers involved. This appears to have been the method adopted in the 1540 edition of the Great Bible, which was printed in a three part folio by Petyt and Redman for Berthelet, (3) and also in the sixteen part folio edition of the Great Boke of statutes, issued by Redman, Middleton and Berthelet between 1538 and 1542. (4) In the case of the 1551 Matthew Bible Nicholas Hill printed four issues one each for Toy, Bonham, Petyt and Wight. (5) Once printed, a book might be sold either by the printer or the publisher, or in the event of neither of them operating a bookshop, a third stationer might put the book to sale.

(1) e.g. Robert Crowley worked in collaboration with Mierdman, (STC 2725) Salesbury, (2983) Stoughton, (Abridgement of God's statutes 1551) Case, (Poore Shakerley) and Day, (Information and petition).

(2) STC 13076

(3) STC 2069

(4) STC 9287

(5) STC s 2083-6

This was the case with several of the books which Mierdman printed for Lynne. As neither of them owned a shop, the books were sold by John Gybkyn from the Spread Eagle. The difficulties which aliens faced when it came to dealing in retail, especially after the Act of 25 Hen. 8, cap.15, (1) increased this tendency to spread the responsibility among a number of stationers.

It also increased the difficulty of pinning down the originator of an offensive or heretical book. Even if the printer had complied with the regulations regarding the information to be included in his imprint (2) that information could be misleading, as the man entitled "printer" could in fact be the publisher, or even, in some cases, the author. (3) This also increases the difficulties faced by the modern student when it comes to tracing a book's provenance. Neither the imprint nor the type face can be relied upon, for it appears to have been common practice for printers to make up any deficiencies in their stock of types by borrowing odd letters from their neighbours. Not only would this have been a natural means of getting over a difficulty to the printers, many of whom were close neighbours but it also offers the only sensible explanation for the extremely complicated movement of types between printers.

Apart from this ever-shifting net of business relationships, there were other ties between printers which encouraged a spirit of community among them, and made it difficult for the Council to obtain information about illegal printing. Craft links between apprentice and master, and between printers who had served their apprenticeship at the same printing house, were often the basis for lasting friendships. It was common for printers to leave property to their apprentices in their wills; often an apprentice would inherit types and copies from his master. (4) Even among those stationers who were not members of the Company similar ties existed. These stationers belonged chiefly to two Companies, the Drapers, of which Anthony Kytson, John Wight and Abraham Vele were all members, and the Grocers. Vele was also a brother of the Stationers, but there

(1) See above p. 6.

(2) See above p. 16.

(3) e.g. John Bale appeared as bookseller on both Layland's Laboryouse Journey (Jugge 1549) and his own Actes of the Englyshe votaries (Veale 1551)

(4) e.g. In 1544 John Raynes left his stock of books to his apprentices; John Kingston inherited stock from Grafton.

appears to have been common feeling between the three Drapers. All, it seems, were inclined to keep their shops open on feast days, being fined for this offence by the Stationers in July 1558. (1)

The first of the printing Grocers was John Mayler. Mayler may have been one of the merchants involved in the illusive bible-studying and book publishing society known as the Christian Brethren. (2) His productions were all radical, and it may have been the needs of the Brethren which first directed him to publication. He was followed into the trade by another evangelical Grocer, Richard Grafton. Grafton was Warden of the Grocers in 1556 (3) and his apprentice, John Kingston, worked with him and inherited several of his copies. John Howes, another of Grafton's apprentices, also became a printer. Kingston collaborated with another young Grocer called Henry Bradshaw, who began work in the book trade in 1559, Shortly after John Charlewood, also a member of the Grocers', went into partnership with Tysdale, a Stationer, at the Saracen's Head.

Family links also existed between the printers, though sometimes it is difficult to disentangle them. William Copland was almost certainly Robert Copland's son, but the precise relationships between the three Powells, Humphrey, Thomas and William, or the four Wyers, Robert, Richard, John and Nicholas, are more difficult to pin down. Marriages between printing families were also common. For example, Luke Harrison married Edward Whitchurch's daughter by his first marriage, and in 1560 Richard Tottle married Grafton's daughter Joan. But the biggest prize for an ambitious young printer was probably a printing widow. The book trade was one in which women played an important and often independant role. John Herford's widow Katherine not only carried on the business after his death, but also, possibly, initiated editions during his lifetime. Robert Toy's widow continued his work after his death, playing a significant part in the Company, as a benefactor and apprentice-master, and apparently launching into the production of ballads, thirty two of which were entered in the names of Mistress Toy and John Walley in 1557/8. (4)

(1) Arber, Transcripts, Vol.1, p.94

(2) For involvement of Mayler, and also possibly of Thomas Kele, see J.F.Davis, 'Heresy and Reformation in the South East of England 1520-59', Unpublished D.Phil thesis, Oxford, 1968.

(3) Machyn, p.108.

(4) See above p.212.

Lucy Raynes followed the example of her husband's Dutch associate, the widow of Christopher Ruremund, in taking an active part in the printing business. She was obviously an influential figure among the printers for she was godmother to John Cawood's daughter, and also a friend of Reyner Wolf's family. Wolf's child is mentioned in her will.(1) Berthelet's widow, Margery, also seems to have retained control of the printing office for some time after Thomas's death in 1555. She reimbursed the company for the magnificent funeral which the members had attended, and gave his apprentices their freedom. Thomas Powell was clearly the manager of the printing house, but he continued to issue works under the name of Berthelet until 1562. (2) Anne Hester was another printing widow who continued her husband's business after his death in 1557. But the two most eligible widows in the printing trade were the two Elizabeths, Elizabeth Redman and Elizabeth Middleton. Robert Redman died late in 1539, his name being appropriated by Grafton for some of his Cromwell ballads. Redman's widow, Elizabeth, continued to print books on some scale, issuing at least eight copies, mainly of a legal nature, in 1540 and 1541. She then married one of the Pickerings, possibly William, and the Redman business was sold to William Middleton. Nevertheless, she continued to print, under the name of Elizabeth Pickering. Middleton worked Redman's presses until his own death in 1547. Two months later his grieving widow Elizabeth married William Powell, who acquired, along with a wife, the Redman premises of the George, his business and his apprentices, one of whom was Richard Tottle. Meanwhile, Middleton's son Henry was learning the trade, and when William Powell died in 1557/8, Henry acquired the old family premises in partnership with Thomas East. To increase the confusion, William Powell presented in 1556, among four apprentices, one Richard Pickering.

Apart from these convoluted business and family relationships, the stationers were also connected by ties of mutual interests and sympathies. The Bible centred group of Whitchurch, Grafton, Berthelet, Marler, Nicholson and Jugge has already been described. Similar ties bound the group of conservative law printers who lived and worked around Temple Bar. (3) Edwardian patentees such as Seres, Day and Lynne had in common not only their religious sympathies but also the patronage of Edwardian clerics and councillors

(1) P.C.C. 40 Populwell, April, '48, *Prob. 11*, 32.

(2) early in 1555 she married again. (Duff, Century, p. 12.)

(3) See above page 209.

like Parker, Somerset and Cecil.

A further common interest bound another group of stationers in close, if often acrimonious relationships. This was the antiquarian tradition, founded on Wolf and fostered by Parker. Wolf was a great collector of manuscripts and, using material collected by Leland and translated by Holinshed, he prepared the Chronicle which formed the basis of Stow's work. This was corrected by Baldwin for the printer Thomas Marsh who continued to print for Stow and also issued Crowley's 1559 edition of Lanquet's Chronicle. Meanwhile, Grafton had published several chronicles, including one of his own, which was based on Hall. This Chronicle was printed by Grafton's son-in-law, Richard Tottle, and was the occasion of frequent rows between the Stow faction and the Grafton faction. In fact Stow, who sympathised with the old religion, was a very quarrelsome man. An unfortunate third party in the chronicle saga was Whitchurch's agent, John Mychell who printed and sold books in Canterbury. Mychell compiled his own Breviat Chronicle from A Chronicle of Yeres, 1543/4, but his plea to the London stationers that he might be allowed to reap the benefit of his labours fell on deaf ears, and he was unable to prevent London printers from pirating editions of his Chronicle in 1555, 1556 and 1561.

A shared enthusiasm for antiquity may have proved disruptive at times, but in general the printing community in 1553 was a closely knit body in which family and business relationships were strengthened by shared religious views and by the experience of taking part in the Edwardian campaign of evangelism and education. The tendency of the stationers to close ranks was not affected by their lack of an all powerful and all embracing trade Company. On the other hand this weakness in the Stationers' Company was a disadvantage to any government wishing to impose an autocratic control over the book trade. Similarly, such control was complicated by the fluid nature of the trade, by the large number of educated men and men of conscience who had been drawn into the trade over the last thirty years, most of whom were protestants, and by the foreign connections which were still cultivated by stationers. It was clear that Mary's government would have to move fairly decisively if it were to bring the book trade into line with a catholic reaction.

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Mary. 1. The Purge of Protestant Printers.

That Mary's government was fully aware of the importance of bringing the book trade to order was demonstrated within weeks of her accession. On the 18th. August, the proclamation Offering Freedom of Conscience was published, in which "false fond books, ballads, rhymes and other lewd treatises in the English tongue concerning doctrine in matters now in question and controversy touching the high points and mysteries of Christian religion" were condemned. (1) *The*

obligation resting on printers to have all books licensed before printing was also reiterated. This proclamation would have had serious consequences for the protestant printers even if no direct action had been taken against them, for a large proportion of the stock of many London printers consisted of just such false fond books, ballads, rhymes and lewd treatises, and their business was bound to be seriously affected by the fact that so much of their stock was rendered unsellable by the proclamation.

But the government had a much more effective, and perfectly legitimate tool with which to discipline the stationers. Nearly all the most radical and energetic of the Edwardian printers had been holders of royal patents, from which patents they derived much of their prosperity. As the granting or rescinding of such patents was entirely a matter for the royal prerogative, it was possible, by withdrawing the patents of undesirable printers and granting them to sympathetic stationers to change the leadership and direction of the printing trade almost overnight. It does appear that the Marian Council was aware of the part which these patents had played in the Edwardian propaganda effort, for almost without exception, the holders of such patents found themselves proceeded against. Indeed, the clamp down on all those printers who had been closely connected with the Edwardian regime was thorough and immediate.

For Richard Grafton, Edward's royal printer, the accession of Mary was a serious blow. Directed by the Council to publish the proclamation of Queen Jane, with the declaration that Mary's claim was forfeit because of her illegitimate birth, he had little choice but to do as he was told. The fate of the unfortunate Gilbard Potter, who lost both his ears for demurring at the proclamation of Jane, gives some indication of Northumberland's attitude to those who objected to his scheme. Besides which Grafton was probably in sympathy

(1) See above page 81.

with Jane and her supporters, for if she succeeded in making her claim stick, the protestant settlement for which Grafton had worked very hard, would be saved. It is even possible that Grafton would have retained his post as royal printer under Queen Jane. But whatever Grafton's motives in proclaiming Queen Jane, the failure of the device left him tainted with treason. He was deprived of his position as King's Printer, losing with the title the £300 which the Crown still owed him, (1) and excepted from the coronation pardon. A month after Mary came to the throne, by which time the first hostile bills were already on the streets, he was imprisoned. But it must have been obvious to Mary's council that he had not been an entirely free agent, and he was released within a few weeks with a pardon. For the rest of the reign he remained a prominent London citizen but took little part in the printing trade. This silence, which was to typify the Edwardian stationers under Mary, raises the question of whether Grafton obtained his release from prison in return for a promise to abstain from printing. The pattern of an immediate clamp down, followed by tolerance on the part of the Council and silence on the part of the printer appears so frequently that it seems very likely that the government did exact some sort of promise of good behaviour, or possibly total silence, from the printers.

Less justifiable than the imprisonment of Grafton was the action taken against Edward Whitchurch. Whitchurch had been closely involved with the reformers under Edward, and he had been responsible with Grafton for the Edwardian Prayer Books, but he had eschewed street literature and was not particularly identified with the Northumberland régime. On the other hand he does seem to have been a friend of Cranmer, and that may have been the reason why he was excepted from the coronation pardon. It is possible that he had gone abroad immediately after Mary's accession; such a flight would also furnish sufficient reason for his exception. There is no absolute evidence that Whitchurch was abroad at all under Mary (2) but in 1553 he sold his premises at the Sun in Fleet Street first to Humphrey and William Powell, and when they were unable to raise the money, to Wayland. The haphazard nature of these transactions strongly suggests

(1) I.A., vol. III., p. 481.

(2) Garrett, p. 325.

that they were done in haste. With the business went Baldwin, the corrector, and much of Whitchurch's stock and copy. Where Whitchurch went is still a matter of speculation, but in 1556 he may well have been in Nuremberg, for in that year he married Cranmer's widow, who was the niece of the Nuremberg reformer Osiander, and had probably taken refuge with her uncle. By 1557, however, Whitchurch was definitely back in London, for in that year he protested in court against being taxed at Sts Anthony in the Ward on the grounds that he had already been taxed at his family home in Camberwell. He won his case.(1) Like Grafton, Whitchurch published nothing under Mary, and this may have been the price he paid for the pardon which he must have received by 1557 when he appeared in court. On Elizabeth's accession he returned briefly to his old trade, issuing a copy of Goeurot's Regiment of Life in 1560, but he died in 1562, still a very wealthy man.

That Whitchurch and Grafton, who had been instrumental in promulgating the protestant liturgy, should suffer in the event of a Catholic reaction was not unnatural. The other Edwardian patentees fared little better. Reyner Wolf was a personal friend of several of the leading reformers, including Cranmer, and he was evidently "persona non grata" with the Marian government. (2) His Edwardian patent for classics could hardly be described as controversial, but he had printed some protestant works under Edward. On Mary's accession, Wolf's patent was granted to Cawood on reversal, and Wolf virtually ceased printing, issuing only three books in the whole of Mary's reign. Once again this silence may have^{had} its origin in some ban imposed upon Wolf, for under Elizabeth he again printed on some scale.

Richard Jugge held the Edwardian patent for New Testaments. Such a privilege was worse than useless during Mary's reign, and Jugge issued only two books for the entire period. The Exhortation against Rebellion which he printed in 1554 may have been an earnest of his loyalty, for it is possible that he spent some part of Mary's reign abroad. Under Edward he had been a close associate of Mierdman and he may left with the foreign congregation in September 1553. Garrett gives a Jugge on the Emden list of preachers and suggests that he may have been assisting Van der Erve in 1557 on his edition of Cranmer's Defensio. (3) On the

(1) See above, note 1. to p. 189.

(2) After Cranmer's death, Wolf succeeded in gaining part of the Archbishop's estates for his widow and son.
 Pamela M. Black, 'Matthew Parker's search for Cranmer's "great notable written books" in The Library, 5th series, vol. 29, (1974) p. 312.

(3) Garrett, p. 202.

other hand, he was apparently in London sometime in both 1554 and 1555, for books appeared bearing his name, and in 1556 he acquired a seven year patent in books of Common Law. In 1557 he was active in the affairs of the Company, joining with Cawood, Smith and Seres to stamp out the illegal import of service books. By 1558 he was established in London on a sufficient scale to be appointed Royal printer to Elizabeth. This evidence of Jugge's presence in London suggests that the Jugge listed by Garrett was not in fact Richard, though it may well have been his son John, who was also a stationer. But if Jugge was in London under Mary, he printed very little, his silence being perhaps the price of his freedom, or, if he did go abroad during the first, nervous months of Mary's reign, of his return.

William Seres had good reason to be nervous at Mary's accession, for under Edward he had been involved in more controversial publications than any other printer. He held an Edwardian patent for primers (1) which he had acquired through the patronage of Cecil, and his later patent of 1559, which he also owed to Cecil, described how "in the time of our late dear sister Queen Mary (he) was not only defeated thereof to his great loss but was also imprisoned long time and deprived of great multitude of the said primers and also of great numbers of books which tended to his utter undoing." (2) Since nearly everything which he had produced under Edward was covered by the "false fond books" banned in Mary's proclamation, it may be unnecessary to look any further than this proclamation for an explanation of the confiscation of Seres's stock. It is possible, however, that the lengthy imprisonment of Seres, which contrasts sharply with the brief spells to which the other printers were subjected, resulted from questionable activities connected with the printing of anti-Marian literature. (3) We know that he continued to function as a bookseller throughout Mary's reign, as bills for a wide range of books supplied by him to Cecil survive for the Marian period. (4) He also continued to be a generous benefactor of the Stationers' Company. If, as the later patent asserts, the action taken against him by the Marian government left him in a state of near financial ruin, it would seem that his generous patron, Cecil, must have given him considerable assistance in overcoming his economic

(1) Pat. Roll 853 m. 35.

(2) Pat. Roll 941 m. 7.

(3) See below, p.230.

(4) Conyers Read, Mr. Secretary Cecil and Queen Elizabeth (1955)

difficulties. On his release by the government, Seres abstained from printing and worked as a bookseller, a mere half-dozen books appearing in his name. Under Elizabeth he returned to the craft, and was soon printing on a large scale again.

The fate of another Edwardian patentee, John Oswen, is unknown. Oswen's patent was for the supply of service books to Wales and the Marches and for 'all manner of books containing any story or exposition of God's holy scripture or any part thereof'. (1) The possession of such a patent was rendered nothing but an embarrassment by Mary's accession, and John Oswen ceased to print, his last two books being Hooper's An Homelye to be read in tyme of pestilence and a copy of the Laws and Statutes of 7 Ed. VI. (both 1553). After this, we hear no more of Oswen. It is possible that he went abroad, for he may well have spent some time on the continent under Henry VIII, possibly in company with Anthony Scoloker and John Bale. On the other hand, he may have died, or reverted to bookselling, or another trade.

Humphrey Powell, who held a patent for Ireland similar to that which Oswen held for Wales, also vanished from sight after the death of Edward. In his account of the Michael Wood press, Professor Fairfield has postulated that Bale, who was in Dublin for a few weeks in September 1553, had prepared an edition of Gardiner's De vera obedientia, which he then sent to Day. (2) If this were so, it is possible that Powell acted as a messenger, for he probably came to London at about that time to help William Powell in the negotiations to acquire the Sun. When this deal collapsed the Powells were fined £250, plus costs, and by the end of October Wayland had moved into the Sun. Humphrey presumably returned to Dublin, but does not seem to have published anything more until the 60s, when broadsides appeared under his name. Possibly other ephemera were printed by him under Mary, or perhaps the financial setback he suffered over the Sun negotiations left him in too embarrassed a position to venture on any printing. Whatever the case, his silence under Mary closely reflects the situation of the other Edwardian patentees.

(1) Pat. Roll 808 m.14.

(2) L.P.Fairfield, 'The Mysterious Press of 'Michael Wood', 1553-1554" in the Library, (1972) p. 220.

Thomas Gaultier, whose patron was Somerset and whose patent was for French service books, also vanished from view after 1553. No more books appeared in his name, and his attempt to obtain membership of the Company had failed, despite the backing of Somerset, his name does not appear in any of their records. His letters of denization of 1544 speak of his having been "long in England" so presumably he was an elderly man by 1553. It is possible that his disappearance resulted from his death in or around 1553, but there is no evidence either way.

The only other native patentee from Edward's reign is John Day. Day had been closely linked with the more radical reformers under Edward, he held the patent for works by Ponet and Becon, and also for A.B.Cs. and Catechisms. Under Edward he had produced a vast output of protestant polemic and his position on Mary's accession was similar to that of his partner William Seres. It is likely that he suffered a short term of imprisonment following the failure of the coup, but if so he was clearly not held for as long as Seres, for by the beginning of October the first of the Michael Wood productions was circulating in London.

The whereabouts of John Day following Mary's accession is still something of a mystery. Professor Fairfield had proved that the attacks on Gardiner and other works issued under the imprint of Michael Wood in 1553 and 1554 were in fact the work of Day, and it (1) appears that they were being printed somewhere in the Eastern Counties. Machyn tells us that when he was arrested in October 1554 he came "riding out of Norfolk." (2) The exact location of the Michael Wood press cannot be traced, but Day had strong links with East Anglia. His home town was Dunwich in Suffolk and he may have returned to this area to set up his illicit press. (3) On the other hand, Day's patron under Elizabeth was Matthew Parker. Parker kept a very low profile under Mary, but we know that he was living with a friend near Norwich, engaged in antiquarian work. It is possible that Day was in touch with Parker, and even that he received some assistance from his patron in the financing of his campaign, but if that was the case, no proof of such collaboration survives.

(1) L.P.Fairfield, Article cited above.

(2) Machyn, p. 72.

(3) Interestingly, John Bale also came from Dunwich.

It is fairly clear that Day's decision to continue the protestant campaign after the death of Edward was taken in collaboration with several other radical printers. While he set up his press in East Anglia, Hugh Singleton set off for Wesel, where he went into partnership with Joos Lambrecht Lettersnyder and issued his famous series of books with the imaginative imprints, 'Rome before the castle of S. Angel at the sign of S. Peter' and 'At the sign on the golden Bible, Strasburgh'. In the meantime, a third printer, the elusive Nicholas Dorcaster, began to issue books, apparently from Antwerp. Dorcaster has been identified as John Day under yet another guise, and Fairfield accepts this view, but John Day was working from the Home Counties, and the Dorcaster books appear to have come from Antwerp. There seems to me to be little doubt that the Antwerp printer was in fact Anthony Scoloker. Scoloker had spent some years abroad under Henry, and while it has been generally assumed that he was in Germany, there is no evidence of his whereabouts in those years. The possibility exists that he was already acquainted with the Antwerp printers, for it was with the Antwerp community that English book men had their strongest links. Scoloker disappeared from the London scene in 1553 and it is highly probable that he returned to friends on the continent. The choice by Day of the Michael Wood imprint also suggests that both Scoloker and John Bale were involved in the opposition press. This alias had first been used under Henry on two of Bale's books, A brefe Chronycle concernynge ...syr Iohan Oldecastell (1) and A Mysterye of Inyquyte, (2) the second of which was signed 'Geneva Mychael Woode' but both of which were apparently printed by A. Goinus of Antwerp. (3) Michael Wood next turned up in London as 'Michael Boys' or 'M' boys' on the editions of Henry Brinkelow's Complaint of Roderick Mors published in 1548 and 1550 by Anthony Scoloker and William Seres.

But the clearest indication of the identity of Nicholas Dorcaster lies in his name. Nikolas Dorcaster is a very near anagram of the name Antoni Scoloker, certainly near enough for whoever it was adapted Brinkelow's name to produce 'Roderick Mors'. That either Scoloker or Bale had a penchant for pseudonyms is suggested by another Scoloker production, Bale's Epistle exhortatorye of 1548, which appeared under the name of H. Stalbrydge.

(1) STC 1277, reprinted by Scoloker and Seres in c.1548.

(2) STC 1303.

(3) See note 8 of Fairfield's Article.

In comparison to these flights of fancy, the conversion of Scoloker to Dorcaster seems only too obvious. This connection between Bale and Scoloker may have begun under Henry, when both were involved with printing abroad, and it is not impossible that Scoloker had been involved in the Michael Wood productions in their days in Antwerp. There may also be an Ipswich connection between the two.

That some kind of a plan or arrangement existed between Day, Singleton and Scoloker seems almost certain, for the productions of the three presses show remarkable similarities. The production of a protestant version of Gardiner's *De vera Obedientia*, with the anomalies of the bishop's position clearly pointed out, appealed to all of them, and to ensure that such an edition would appear, even if one of them had to suspend operations, both Day and Singleton printed the book, Day issuing two editions under the Michael Wood imprint. If, as Fairfield has suggested, the Day version was edited by Bale, it is possible that the irascible bishop was again the moving spirit. (1) In a similar way, John Knox's attack on the Spanish marriage appeared from two of the three illicit presses, Dorcaster producing it under the title of An admonition that the faithful Christiāns avoid God's vengeance, while Singleton produced it under the title of A godly letter. The connection between John Day and Hugh Singleton was a strong one. They were the same age, both in their early thirties and shared not only the same religious beliefs, but also the same friends, among them John Foxe and Coverdale. Later in their careers Singleton worked for Day, and succeeded him in the office of city printer.

The connecting link between Scoloker and Day may have been John Bale, from whom they both derived the pseudonym of Michael Wood, or it may have been William Seres, who had been the chief partner of both Day and Scoloker during the Edwardian campaign, and may in fact have been the chief orchestrator of that campaign. The question now arises of who else, apart from Day, Singleton and Scoloker was privy to the decision to organise a campaign of hostile protestant literature. It seems highly probable that William Seres was involved, for not only had he had a hand in more books of protestant polemic than any other printer, and worked in partnership with almost all the protestant printers, but in particular he had been the chief

(1) The strong links between Ponet, Bale, Day, Scoloker, Seres, and Singleton would bear further examination.

(2) *For the tradition of Protestant polemic in Ipswich, see A. J. Dickens, (230)*

'Peter Moore and The Ipswich Gospeller and Poet' in Notes and Queries 1954, pp. 513-514.

collaborator of both Scoloker and Day during Edward's reign. Moreover, if Seres were involved with the illicit presses, presumably as London agent for the distribution of illegal books, his lengthy imprisonment and the confiscation of his stock would be explained.

The organisation, such as it was, seems to have operated something like this. John Bale, who may have been the moving spirit behind the whole operation, acquired, edited or suggested suitable texts, which were then forwarded possibly first to Day and through him to the other two presses, or possibly to all three presses at the same time. The books were printed, either in Antwerp, Wesel, or Norfolk, or on more than one of the presses, and then smuggled back into London. It seems likely that Day, from his base in East Anglia, organised the smuggling, while once in London the books were handled by Seres. Such an enterprise would clearly have required financial backing, and here the trail ends in a series of question marks. We have already mentioned the possibility, and it is no more than a possibility, that Matthew Parker was aware of what his protégé was doing in an area so close to his residence. William Cecil is another enigmatic presence lurking just beyond the reach of suspicion. If Seres, who was Cecil's own stationer, were acting as an outlet for illegal literature, it is quite likely that his shrewd patron was aware of the fact. And yet he not only continued to support Seres, but must indeed have subsidised him on a considerable scale for him to have regained prosperity so soon after the near ruin into which he had been plunged by the confiscation of his stock. It is perhaps worth noting that the output of the Michael Wood press was determinedly pacifist in tone. Such pacifism was very much in line with John Bale's own thinking, but it would also have met with the approval of both Cecil and Parker. (1)

There is also a possibility that the whole enterprise was master-minded by another eminent Edwardian, Cecil's father-in-law, Sir Anthony Cooke. The state of the evidence seems to be as follows. At the beginning of October 1554 Machyn described how John Day the printer, a servant, another printer and a priest came riding out of Norfolk to the Tower for "printing of naughty books". This incident was described by two foreign observers. Count Giovan Tom^maso, Langosco di Stroppiano, wrote to the Bishop of Arras on 6th October;

(1) Another possible backer, John Ponet, was less squeamish about such considerations.

"By divine inspiration rather than through any human artifice or device, a certain perverse heretic and secret seducer of this people has been discovered. He is the author of all the plots, writings and books that have been published against our catholic faith, which he caused to be printed, as I hear, secretly at a certain place in Flanders and disseminated among the people, causing great scandal and still greater harm. They say that England held no blacker criminal than he in matters of religion; he denounced many of his fellow conspirators and accomplices who have been siezed too." (1)

Renard described the same event to the Emperor in a letter dated October 13th "The man who used to compose and have printed, in an Imperial town near Brabant, certain slanderous books, has been found out and caught." (2) It is possible that these references are to John Day himself, for he was clearly heavily engaged in the campaign, and was a man of some standing among the reformers. On the other hand Renard states that the man he is referring to used to compose the books and have them printed, and Stroppiano describes him as the author of plots writings and books, who then had them published. (3) A possible candidate for the honour is Sir Anthony Cooke's son William. Sir Anthony was probably one of the authors of the Humble and unfeined confession of the belief of certain poor banished men which was printed by Dorcaster apparently in September. (4) This may have been the book referred to by Foxe when he spoke of books which "nipped a great number so near" that the government was goaded into action. Possibly Foxe's allusion is to all the books which were coming off the three presses. Sir Anthony certainly fits Stroppiano's description of the master mind. However, Sir Anthony was apparently not arrested, while we know that his son William "not only sustained trouble, but was also committed to vile prison for that he suffered this our printer (i.e. John Day) to print the book of Wint. De Vera Obed." (5)

(1) Span. Cal, Vol.13,1554-1558. p. 62-3

(2) Span. Cal, Vol.13,p.67. The town referred to was presumably Antwerp.

(3) Among the reformers, William Barlow is the most likely candidate. He tried to escape to the Continent in November 1554, but was recaptured. In January 1555 he recanted before Gardiner. His past involvement in plots and books make him a possible subject for Stroppiano's description. Garrett,p.80 Machyn,p.75.

(4) Garrett, p.84.

(5) Foxe, Vol.VIII, App.

The reference is clearly to the Michael Wood edition of De Vera, and William Cooke figures here as publisher, or organiser. With Sir Anthony occupying a dominant role among the exiles it is possible that his son William, who was just eighteen at the time, was acting as a courier between his father and the supporters of the exiles at home (one of whom was almost certainly Cecil). In the course of these activities William may have become involved in the Day enterprises either on his father's behalf or off his own bat. That young William may have been the captive alluded to may also be indicated by the fact that the unfortunate prisoner, whoever he was, was quickly induced to give the government all the information it required. As a result of his disclosures Foxe related that in the month of October almost three score Londoners of all classes were apprehended and committed to sundry prisons for "having and selling of certain books which were sent into England by the preachers that fled into Germany and other countries". (1) The arrest of sixty Londoners certainly suggests that the anti-Marian campaign had considerable support in the capital and that it was being run by a large organisation. Among those apprehended was one stationer, Randall Tyrer.

As for Scoloker, Singleton and Day, the government action spelled the end of their particular enterprise, though not the end of anti-Marian propaganda, which continued to be printed on the continent under the aegis of wealthy and scholarly exiles. Day was sent to the Tower, as was another stationer, who may have been either Singleton, or Scoloker, who disappears completely from view with the last of the Dorchester books. The identity of the priest and the servant who accompanied the two stationers is unknown, but the servant could have been one of Day's foreign assistants,⁽³⁾ Day certainly spent the winter of 1554 in the Tower, and was released in January 1555. Just before his release a conversation took place between him and the martyr John Rogers which has been immortalised in the account of John Foxe. According to Foxe, Rogers entrusted Day, who had been laid up "for like cause of religion", with a message to his brethren in exile, urging them to train protestant ministers to take over when the gospel was once again free, and outlining a form of church discipline for their consideration.⁽²⁾

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- (1) Foxe, Vol. VI, p.561. Another possible identification of this W. Cooke is with the stationer of this name. (Duff, p.31)
- (2) Foxe, Vol. VI, p.610.
- (3) John Hollinder remained (233) with Day throughout this period.

The passage implies that Day's departure was expected, and tends to undermine the suggestion that he escaped. (1) Following his release from the Tower, Day fled abroad, taking the message entrusted to him by Rogers to the exiles. He probably travelled via Antwerp where he may have met Scoloker, if the Ipswich printer was still there. It is also possible that he saw in Antwerp the new Italic fonts being cut by Hubert Goltz and Christopher Plantin. When he came to cut his own Italics in 1572 he produced a font very reminiscent of these Dutch types. Once again there is a suggestion that Day had connections in Antwerp and it may be significant that one of his colleagues at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign, Nicholas England was a regular visitor in Plantin's office. From Antwerp, Day travelled on to Strasbourg to deliver Rogers' message to Ponet.(2)

It seems likely that by 1556 Day was back in London, living quietly and apparently in straightened circumstances. He spent the rest of Mary's reign learning the engraving skills which he had seen at work in Antwerp, and which he was later to use to produce his own types. The edition of Digges's Tectonicon which was issued by Thomas Gemini in 1556, perhaps as an advertisement for Gemini's instruments, was apparently the work of Day, though it does not carry his imprint. In the same year Day paid 2s 6d. towards the Stationers' Company benevolence. His inclusion on the list of stationers cannot be taken as proof positive that he was in London at the time, but is a further indication that he was probably home by then. The low sum allotted to him suggests that he was in some financial difficulties at this time. (3) A few books appeared with his imprint in these years including two editions of Elyot's Bankette of sapience and a Sarum Missal. It is highly unlikely that this Missal was printed by Day, despite the fact that it carries his device. This consisted of a coat of arms with the initials I.D., and was used by Day in 1549, and again in 1551. In the 1557 Missal the E. of Edward's initials has been scrubbed out and replaced with an M. of another font^U_A. The original date has been erased. Day used it again in Foxe's Acts and Monuments, once more in an altered state.

The use of this device on the Sarum Missal suggests that it may

(1) Garrett, P.142.

(2) Ponet was a patron of Day. For Day's patent see above p.192.

(3) Arber, Transcripts, Vol.1, p.50.

well have been printed by John Wayland. Wayland had inherited a good deal of Day's stock following the accession of Mary, and he is known to have owned another Day compartment. (1) He also held the Marian patent for service books, and he or his assigns were responsible for a large proportion of Marian liturgical works. (2) Another possibility is that this Missal was one of Valentine's service books which were banned in 1557 as infringement on the monopoly established under the act 25 Hen. VIII, cap.15. Valentine must have been left with a large stock of unsaleable books on his hands, including many missals, for the English printers still tended to leave the printing of these costly books to the expertise of the French stationers. The application of an English imprint to a French service book in order to evade the trade embargo is well within the bounds of possibility. There must also be some doubt about the editions of Elyot, since the type used was not used by Day on any other dated books of the period, and it seems that Wayland may once again have been using Day's materials. Whether the use of the Day compartment was deliberate, possibly in reply to the use of Cawood's name by protestant propagandists, or whether it was an oversight is impossible to determine. It may perhaps be significant that Caly continued to use Grafton's monogram after he took over at Greyfriars. Stationers of the mid sixteenth century seem to have viewed imprints less as accurate statements of a books provenance than as commercial puff. It was more important for a title page to look impressive than for it to be accurate. (3) I suggest then that Day did not return to printing until the accession of Elizabeth brought his patron Parker to pre-eminence as Archbishop of Canterbury. With Parker's assistance, Day then returned to the printing trade, operating now on a much more lavish scale than under Edward as both printer, engraver and bookbinder.

As far as Singleton is concerned, if he was the man who shared Day's imprisonment in the Tower he must have been released at about the same time and gone abroad immediately. He may have reached Strasburg in time to be involved in the printing of The Resurrection

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- (1) McKerrow, Devices No.116. The Revised S.T.C. attributes this Missal to Kingston and Sutton, who were probably Wayland's assigns.
- (2) See below p. 258.
- (3) R.B. McKerrow, Printers' and Publishers' Devices in England and Scotland 1485 - 1640, (Oxford 1913,) No.115, and C.E. Sayle, Early English printed books in the University Library, Cambridge, (Cambridge 1900,) No.776.

of the Mass and other illegal books. This would explain why the city refused to grant him minor citizenship in 1557. On the other hand his previous imprisonment in London would have furnished sufficient reason for refusing his request. By June 1558 he was in Basle, and on Elizabeth's accession he returned to London and began work again as a printer and binder. (1)

So much then for the native patentees. Many suffered an initial period of imprisonment as a result of their close association with the Edwardian regime. Several spent part of Mary's reign abroad and Day, Seres and possibly others became involved in the campaign of hostile propaganda. But after the initial clamp down the Marian government displayed very little vindictiveness towards them and those who remained in London were not subjected to any undue harassment, although they do seem to have been working under some kind of restraint which prevented them from operating as printers. That they were watched closely is proven by the fact that whatever restraint had been put upon them remained effective right through to 1558. But Grafton continued to occupy an honoured place among the Grocers, sat as member of Parliament for the city, and retained his posts as administrator of several London charities. Whitchurch and Wolf continued to prosper, as did Seres, who evidently operated a thriving book shop and took a leading role in the Stationers' Company. Jugge even acquired a patent in law books during Mary's life time. This lenience on the part of the government, and the return to the London book trade by men like Day and Jugge suggests that the traditional view of stationers as craftsmen who could not be held completely responsible for the content of the books they uttered was still operative. After their initial flight, stationers like Whitchurch realised that their fear of reprisals, at least in the printing world, had been exaggerated, and that the government was directing its vendetta mainly towards scholars and divines. They therefore returned to London and lived quietly waiting for better things to come. Of Thomas Gaultier and John Oswen however, no more was heard.

Apart from patentees like Day, Whitchurch, Jugge and Oswen,

(1) Garrett, p.288. For Singleton's later career as a puritan printer see H.J.Byrom, 'Edmund Spenser's first printer, Hugh Singleton', in the Library, 4th series, Vol.XIV, (1933-34,) p.121

other Edwardian printers also chose exile rather than conformity. As we have seen Hugh Singleton and Anthony Scoloker went to Wesel and Antwerp respectively and from there operated the continental part of the Michael Wood campaign. Robert Crowley, no longer an active printer since his ordination but still closely associated with the book trade, fled to Frankfort, where he lived in poverty with his wife and child. On Elizabeth's accession he returned to England and made a name for himself as a radical preacher, ending his life as a member of the Stationers' Company, and first choice among stationers for funeral orations. John Banks, son of Banks the printer, accompanied his patron Christopher Haddon abroad after the execution of Lady Jane Grey, taking with him the accounts of Jane's death the publication of which was prevented by Bullinger's tactful intervention. (1) John Bodley, a wealthy Devonian, appears to have had no connection with the printing trade before his exile in 1554, but once abroad he became interested in the enterprise of printing a new translation of the Bible, and gave financial backing to Rowland Hall's press at Geneva, from which the Geneva Bible was issued. On his return to London, Bodley obtained a seven year patent for this translation. Hall was a member of the Stationers' Company, and had presumably worked in the London book trade before he left for the continent. However, there are no records of his activity before the Incorporation, and he may have been quite a young man. After the publication of the Geneva Bible, Hall returned to London and issued a considerable number of Calvinist texts before his death in September 1563. Another young stationer abroad at this time was Nicholas Purfoot, who seems to have been the son of Thomas Purfoot, and spent Mary's reign at Strasbourg and Frankfurt, presumably as a student. (2) Day's old master, Thomas Gibson, was also at Strasbourg. (3)

The London printing community, already depleted by the flight of numbers of native printers, was further diminished by the return to the continent of printers who had come to England under Edward in search of a refuge from persecution. On 15th September 1553 John à Lasco led the congregation of exiles in London in a voluntary withdrawal to the continent. These seasoned religious refugees had developed a sharp nose for persecution in the offing, and took

(1) See letter of James Haddon to Bullinger, Strasburg, August 31, 1554, O.L. Vol.1, p.292.

(2) Garrett, p.264.

(3) *ibid.*, p.159.

immediate advantage of the opportunities offered by the government to remove themselves to safer havens. With the community went Egidius van der Erve and Stephen Mierdman, both of whom eventually settled at Emden, and a number of journeymen-stationers such as Urbanus van Cuelen and Jacob Michaels; the returns of 1550 had listed nineteen refugee stationers as members of the Dutch church, and many of these must have been among the emigrant community in September 1553.

The willingness of Mary's government to allow these refugees to move on unmolested was undoubtedly civilised and humane, but in the event it proved a costly mistake. At Emden, van der Erve set up an exile press on which he printed at least a dozen hostile pamphlets, which were then smuggled into England. His output included works by Knox, Olde, Ridley, Scory, Turner, Cranmer and Philpot, as well as the continental reformers. (1) After the collapse of the Singleton/Scoloker/Day enterprise, the Emden press became the chief source of the underground propaganda which dogged Mary throughout her reign. But whereas in England Mierdman had been the more prolific of the two, at Emden Van der Erve took over his role and printed nearly all of the Emden books which were aimed at the English market. The similarity of the material which he printed with that produced by Mierdman while in London suggests that the two were working together, but the only work printed by Mierdman with an English connection after he settled at Emden was the Dutch pamphlet Een nieuu tiidinghe, hoc dat die Prince van Spaengien triumphelick aengecomen is in Enghelandt. (2)

There is a strong possibility that Nicholas Hill also accompanied van der Erve to Emden. Hill had been away from the Low Countries for over thirty years, but as an advanced protestant he may have chosen to return to his country of origin rather than to conform to a catholic reaction. As an elder of the foreign congregation in London the chances are that Hill decided to accompany that community, which contained many of his friends such as van der Erve, into exile. At all events, Hill disappeared from the London scene in 1553, his name appearing on no more books, and the next London reference to him is in an entry in the registers of the Dutch

(1) e.g. S.T.C. 15069, 18797, 18798, 21046, 21854, 24361, 5999 etc.

(2) S.T.C. 19835.

Church for 1560, when a widow Elizabeth and her children are listed. In 1557 Erve apparently sustained a serious loss in the death of Nicholas. Worman suggests that the man here referred to was Nicholas van Oldenbuch, but it seems likely that this was in fact Nicholas Hill, for Hill appears to have died at about this time, and his death would have been a personal, and possibly also a professional blow to van der Erve. (1)

Walter Lynne has left no trace of his activities following the accession of Mary in 1553. As Mierdman's associate and a member of the Dutch Church he may have gone abroad with the congregation, but there seems to be no trace of him on the continent. The next reference we have to him is in 1567, when he was living in London and said to have been there for 30 years. (2) Possibly, as one of the wealthiest and most influential of the refugees, he accompanied the Dutch Church abroad and assisted them in settling down in new havens, returning home once the community was settled.

With the disappearance of Lynne we have disposed of the last of the patent holders, and only two of Edward's leading protestant printers remain unaccounted for. Thomas Berthelet, who was an old man by 1553, died in 1555. From the time of Mary's accession his presses came under the management of Thomas Powell, and the works issuing from them were almost certainly chosen by Powell. In 1554 he issued two works by the catholic apologist, Gwynneth, A declaration of heretikes and the Detection of the falsehood of Frith's boke under Berthelet's name, but the 1557 issue of Gwynneth's A playne demonstration of J.Frithes lack of witte carried Powell's own imprint. In the same way, the 1555 edition of Heywood's Three hundred epigrams appeared under Berthelet's imprint, but later issues of Heywood's works, in 1556, 1557 and 1560 carried Powell's name. But if the works issuing from the Berthelet press began to reflect Powell's catholic sympathies after 1553, the humanist traditions of the old master were carried on, and editions of Elyot appeared with both imprints, after the death of Berthelet.

William Baldwin was unaffected by the disgrace of his master Whitchurch; he escaped the purge which sent several of his

(1) Worman, p.18.

(2) Worman, p.38.

colleagues into exile in the summer of 1553, and continued to work as corrector at the Sun, which passed via the Powells to John Wayland. He also retained his post as superintendent of plays at court. The question arises as to whether this social and religious reformer conformed to the catholic reaction in order to protect his career. The retention of a post at court does not necessarily argue for conformity, for if Underhill is to be believed, there were many known gospellers who continued to serve at court. (1) More inexplicable is the continued employment of Baldwin by Wayland, who held the Marian patent for service books, and was enthusiastic enough about orthodoxy to report his apprentice Thomas Green for handling the book Antichrist. (2) Even if he did not know about Baldwin's protestant views in 1553, the intervention by Gardiner to prevent Wayland from printing the Mirror for Magistrates in 1554 must have opened his eyes to the poet's views. Wayland had inherited this copy from Whitchurch, along with Baldwin's edition of Lydgate's Fall of Princes, and was probably unaware of the fact that it contained a defence of Somerset and a thinly disguised attack on Gardiner. But the bishop's intervention can have left him in no doubt that Baldwin was radical enough to lead him into trouble with the authorities, which was the last thing he wanted. Why he continued to employ the poet after this discovery is something of a mystery, especially in the light of his harsh attitude towards Green. The only solution seems to be that Baldwin's services were indispensable to the printer if he were to carry on the scholarly and literary traditions of the Sun, and his connections at court were useful to the commercially-minded Wayland. Baldwin remained in London throughout Mary's reign, working apparently without the restraints which had been imposed upon most of the Edwardian printers. Whether he conformed is open to question (3) but on Elizabeth's accession he was ordained and held several livings before dying prematurely in 1563 of the plague.

Of the first group of Edwardian printers considered above, that is, those of known protestant views, Baldwin was the only one who continued to function throughout Mary's reign. When we come to consider the lesser figures who had played a part in the protestant

(1) Underhill claimed that there was "no better place to shift the Easter time in than Queen Mary's court" N. of R. p.149.

(2) Foxe, Vol. VIII, pp.521-524.

(3) See below p. 298.

campaign, a similar pattern of suspension and semi-retirement emerges.. Turke printed nothing at all between 1553 and 1558/9, when he entered Catherine Parr's Prayers or Meditations in the Stationers' book. This entry and the nomination of him as Warden of the Company in 1558 suggest that he was still active in the book trade, and, though poor, was respected within the community. (1) Lobley was another active member of the Stationers', though like Turke, he was short of money. Nevertheless he entered three copies in the Stationers' registers in 1557/8, one of which, Savonarola's meditation on the fifty-first psalm, entered as The spalme of miseri, was printed for him in 1558 by Thomas Marsh. Lobley died in 1567, in debt to the Company, which he had served twice in the capacity of Upper Warden. (2) He appears to have avoided religious controversy under Mary, and was presumably earning his living as a bookbinder. (3)

William Copland, whose Edwardian output had consisted half of protestant polemics and half of old romances, ceased to produce any religious works, with the result that his output dropped considerably. Under Mary he concentrated almost entirely on literary texts, though in 1556 he did venture to print an edition of Catherine Parr's Prayers or Meditations for Anthony Kitson. In 1556 Copland ran into trouble with the authorities, when, along with several other printers, he rushed out an unofficial version of Cranmer's Recantation. He was ordered to hand all his copies over to Cawood to be burned. This recantation was probably produced as a news sheet rather than as a piece of religious propaganda, and it is uncertain now in what way it gave offence. Possibly Cawood saw it as offence against his patent in official documents. Possibly the copies were withdrawn because they raised the embarrassing question of whether the Queen was about to burn a penitent. Possibly the Council was anxious that Cranmer's recantation should only appear in an officially vetted version, which would carry the additional weight of having been issued by the authorities and printed by the royal printer. (4) With the accession of Elizabeth, Copland began to issue religious publications once

(1) Arber, Transcript, Vol.1, pp.89 and 95

(2) 1559/60, 62/63.

(3) Arber, Transcript, Vol.1, pp.78, 117, 195.

(4) For a discussion of the problem, see D.M.Loades, The Oxford Martyrs (1970,) pp.234-236.

again, with copies of Bradford's Sermon of Repentance and A godlye medytacyon, and an edition of the Psalms or Prayers, which he printed for William Seres. By 1560 his output was up to nine copies, and the old balance between romances and polemic had reappeared. But in the sixties Copland fell on hard times. He died in 1569, his funeral expenses being met by the company. (1)

William Hill, who had been responsible for an output of undiluted polemic under Edward, printed nothing at all under Mary, or indeed Elizabeth. But he remained an active and generous, though not wealthy, member of the Stationers' Company, took several apprentices and saw his son admitted as a freeman. We have no information as to why he ceased to print, but presumably he followed a similar career to that of Lobley, avoiding religious controversy and occupying himself in bookbinding.

Thomas Raynalde, who had also printed on some scale for the protestant cause, seems to have retired in 1553. In that year Roger Madeley moved into his offices at the Star, and shortly after this retirement, Raynalde died. There is little likelihood that the Serum Processional which appeared in 1555 with the imprint T.R. was Raynalde's work, though it may have been printed by his successor. Robert Stoughton also died at the beginning of Mary's reign, his last known production being the Abridgement of God's statutes, which was apparently printed for him by Crowley.

The fate of Richard Wyer is intriguing. No books appeared from his press after 1550, but in November 1553 a Richard Wyer was bound over in £40 to appear before the Privy Council when called, and to abide its further order. This Wyer, along with Thomas Wood, Thomas Griffith, William Blunt and Edmund Coles, all mercers, and a grocer called Geffrey Newton, had been involved in "lewd reports touching that the late King should be yet on live." (2) The trade of Wyer is not given, but our stationer had been involved before in tavern brawls, and appears to have had a rather light character. If this reference is to the stationer, the possibility exists that this "lewd report" had been prepared for the press. (3)

Of John Case we know nothing after he ceased printing in 1551,

(1) Arber, Transcript, Vol.1. p.392.

(2) A.P.C., Vol.1V, pp. 363 and 364.

(3) H.R.Plomer, 'Notices of English Stationers in the archives of the City of London' in I.B.S., Vol.VI.(1900.)

except that he was a member of the Stationers' Company, and had no money. John Gybkyn, who held an Edwardian privilege for Turner's Herbal, was also a member of the Company. (1) If he accompanied Mierdman and Lynne overseas he must have returned in time for the Incorporation of the Company, for his name appears on the Charter. But the last book to carry his name was issued in 1551. Like Case and Gybkyn, William Marten's name appears on the Stationers' Charter, but he does not appear to have published anything under Mary. In 1560 he was licensed to publish the Hurt of Hering Mass, which was subsequently printed for him by Copland, and two years later he was fined for selling Nostradamus, but apart from these two copies he seems to have published little. As the only Edwardian publication we know of by Martin was Lawton's seditious ballad, it is likely that he was little more than a journeyman; as he shared Henry Sutton's premises he may have been employed under Mary on the service books in which Sutton and Kingston specialised. If he continued to indulge a taste for dissent, or to work for religious or political malcontents, we have no proof of it.

John Wight was another printer whose output under Edward had shown a sympathy with reforming views. In 1553 Wight went into semi-retirement, and printed nothing but a York Primer until 1559, when he returned to printing on a scale similar to his Edwardian output. Wight is the last of those printers assigned earlier to the protestant camp. Of these thirty odd stationers, the main contributors to the boom in protestant propaganda in 1548-1550, all but Baldwin either fled, suspended their printing activities completely, or drastically curtailed their output. There were other printers also who stopped printing, or worked on a much reduced scale while Mary was on the throne. Thomas Purfoot, who had issued Hooper's Funeral Oration from the sign of the Lucretia in 1549, seems to have printed nothing at all under Mary. If the Nicholas Purfoot listed among the exiles was in fact his son, this would argue for protestant opinions within the Purfoot family, but as Purfoot printed little during the whole of the period under consideration, the absence of any books in his name between 1553 and 1558 cannot be considered as significant.

William Powell, who had produced some fifty Edwardian copies, could manage only nine books for the whole of the Marian period.

(1) Strype. E.M. Vol.11 part 1. p.552.

The decline in his fortune was probably the result of the fine of £250, plus costs, which he incurred when his bid for the Sun fell through. Nevertheless he did not go completely out of business, which may have been the fate of three small scale Edwardian stationers who seem not to have functioned at all under Mary, William Awen, Edmund Campion and Roger Car, all three, possibly, the victims of economic pressures.

With the community of native printers already diminished by the exile or retirement of so many Edwardian printers, the flight of the refugees caused a further serious shrinkage. We have no figures for Mary's reign which are comparable with the returns of 1544, 1547, 1549 and 1550, but other sources, such as the Stationers' Registers, supply the names of only fourteen alien bookworkers active in London between 1553 and 1558. If we make the not altogether safe assumption that printers found in London before 1553 and present once again under Elizabeth had stayed in London under Mary, we can add a further twenty-four names to this total, bringing it to thirty-eight. In fact, several of these stationers probably spent at least part of Mary's reign abroad. It is true that the foreign community was on the decline towards the end of Edward's reign, but the effect of Mary's accession was to further that decline, and as we have seen specific legislation was introduced to encourage any remaining emigre printers to leave. Significantly, the number of foreign stationers recorded in London had risen again to forty-four in 1560, and was further swollen by the immigration of 1562. (1)

Death also took its toll of the printers, the mortality rate appearing to be unusually high in the middle decade of the century. John Harford and Richard Kele both died in Edward's reign, and they were followed by Robert Stoughton in 1553, Barthelet and Raynald in 1555, and Petit and Toy in 1556. Andrew Hester, the bookseller, died in 1557, and Nicholas Hill almost certainly died abroad, possibly also in 1557. The disappearance of other Edwardian printers may also have resulted from their death; Robert Wyer, for example, probably died in 1556 when he ceased printing. But the significant feature of these mortalities was the failure of younger printers to come forward and take up the vacant places left by them. Of the many young men made free of the stationers during Mary's reign, only seven actually launched into print. (2)

(1) See Appendix II.

(2) W. Griffith, J. Charlewood, Luke Harrison, John King, Roger Madeley, Owen Rogers and W. Pickering.

On the other hand the first three years of Elizabeth's reign saw a further eleven young men taking part in printing and publishing enterprises. (1) This reluctance of young stationers to set up business while Mary was on the throne must have owed much to the shrinkage caused by the removal from the book shops of the controversial tracts which had accounted for more than half of the output of the Edwardian press. Since this kind of production was also least dependant upon a large capital outlay, it was the most favourable area of the market for a young man to launch his business. It is likely also that the caution displayed by the young stationers while Mary was alive owed much to the close surveillance under which the established stationers were clearly operating, and to the examples of searching and imprisoning among the older printers.

In fact, the total effect of Mary's accession on the London printing trade was drastic. From the eighty or so stationers known to have been active in the publishing trade under Edward, the community shrank to a mere forty one stationers whose names appear on any surviving books. (2) We also know of three other bookmen who were active under Mary, Edward Cater, a stationer who was set in the pillory in 1555 "for falsifying and razing of a dispensation granted by the Cardinal"; (3) Richard Harvey, who obtained a license in 1557/8 to print Devout Prayers, and Robert Fryer, bookseller, who was engaged in supplying catholic service books to the churches.

And with this shrinkage in the printing community, a complimentary reduction took place in the number of books published in London during this period. The total Marian output was only about half of that reached during Edward's reign, (4) the difference being almost entirely the result of the disappearance from the bookshops of controversial, catechetic and theological works. But within the limits of this somewhat truncated book trade, printers continued to flourish. The retirement of men like Grafton, Whitchurch and Wolf could not fail to be of advantage to other London printers, who gained not only their customers but also their stock, and in some cases their premises.

Richard Tottle was among the small group of printers who flourished

(1) Alde, Awdeley, Bradshaw, Caldocke, England, Hacket, Hall, J. Harrison Judson, Lobley, Newbery.

(2) See Appendix III for year by year fluctuations.

(3) Duff, Century p.22

(4) See Appendix III.

under Mary. Working on the basis of his law patent, Tottle pushed his output up from eleven copies in 1553 to a remarkable total of over fifty productions in 1556, the great bulk of these issues being year books. Apart from his legal work, Tottle concentrated mainly on classical and literary texts, and did little in the way of religious printing. In 1553 he printed More's Dialogue of comfort, and the following year, when catholic morale was at its highest he issued Smith's Bouclier of the catholike fayth and a work of Vincent of Lerins. But for the rest of the reign he produced no religious books, the sole exception being Rastell's edition of More's English works, which he published in 1557 in co-operation with Cawood and Waley.

Tottle was a wealthy man before Mary came to the throne, and his prosperity during her reign owed more to the law patent which he had acquired under Edward than to his catholic sympathies. Nevertheless his close association with William Rastell, who returned from exile and rose to eminence on the bench under Mary, must have advanced his fortunes, and he did inherit some of the stock of the retired and exiled printers. John Wayland owed the whole of his prosperity to the disgrace of the protestant printers. Having spent the greater part of Edward's reign evading the law, Wayland seized the opportunity of Mary's accession to return to his old trade of printing, using the stock and expertise of the disgraced stationers. When the Powell's bid to acquire the offices at the Sun, vacated by Whitchurch, failed, Wayland was able to buy the premises, gaining along with the house, the stock and the personnel. The disgrace of William Seres gave him a chance to acquire the patent for service books which he had nearly obtained from Cromwell fifteen years before, and on the 24th October 1553 he was granted a patent for "all and every such usual primers or manuals of prayers...authorised." (1) Under the terms of this patent, Wayland printed about ten Marian editions of the Primer, most of these being Sarum primers, and one Sarum Manual. In 1556 he got his patent renewed for seven years, but Wayland was not a member of the Stationer's Company, and he seems to have had considerable difficulty enforcing his monopoly. Apart from Kingston and Sutton, who may well have produced their large numbers of prayer books under contract to Wayland, prayer books were also printed by Waley, Caly, Petit, Toy and King. Wayland's output was not confined

(1) Pat. Roll. 874 m.14.

to prayer books; indeed he seems to have handed over the bulk of such work to Kingston and Sutton, while he himself continued to print literary works in the tradition of the Sun. Many of these were probably already in production when he took over the presses. Little in the nature of religious controversy was issued from the Sun during Wayland's tenure, the only work printed by him which could be described as polemical being Cancellor's The pathe of obedience.

Apart from his premises, his patent, and his corrector, Wayland also gained some of the type materials which had belonged to the exiled or disgraced printers. Type pieces which had belonged to Grafton and to the Day and Seres partnership appeared in his work as well as Whitchurch's materials. He was perhaps the only Marian printer whose prosperity was based entirely upon the eclipse of the Edwardian stationers.

Henry Sutton, who was a member of the Stationers' company, worked at the Black Boy in Paul's Churchyard, but he had printed little before Mary's accession, apart from the Camel-Churchyard ballads. (1) In 1553 he issued two editions of Sternhold's Psalms, but following the death of the King he went into partnership with Kingston for the production of Catholic service books. His output during Mary's reign consisted almost exclusively of liturgical works, printing only one book on his own account, an edition in 1557 of Erasmus's Epitome Colloquiorum. After 1558 Sutton began to print protestant tracts, which might indicate that his interest in the catholic reaction was commercial rather than personal.

John Kingston was one of several printers who were members of the Grocers' Company. He had been apprenticed to Richard Grafton, and inherited several of his copies, including two books by Wilson, The Art of Rhetic and the Rule of Reason. Like Sutton, Kingston seems to have viewed his production of catholic service books as a purely business proposition. What indications we have of his own religious views would tend towards protestant rather than catholic sympathies. His training under Grafton, his production under Edward of Lever's Meditacion upō the lordes praier and of Sternhold's psalms, and his publication following the death of Mary of the violent little tract A speciall grace...upon the good nues all hint at a protestant inclination. He followed the Special Grace with Brice's A compendious Register, and may in fact have had some connection with illegal books

(1) See above p. 153.

during Mary's lifetime. (1) But whatever the religious persuasions of Kingston and Sutton, if indeed they had any, they were clearly aware of the huge market for liturgical works which the return of catholic ritual after thirty years of destruction and neglect had created. Together they produced Processionals, Manuals, Breviaries, Psalters, Missals, Hymnals and one Primer, mostly of Sarum use, but also a few for York, and their total output of service books ran to at least seventeen issues. Their neglect of the large market for Primers seems to have been part of their arrangement with Wayland, for Primers constituted Wayland's chief contribution to the supply of service books. Like Sutton, Kingston continued to issue occasional books by himself, but he rarely sold his own works; his edition of Withals' A shorte dictionarie, 1556, was sold by Waley and Vele, and when his partnership with Sutton ended in 1558, he began to work for stationers like Jugge and England. Little in the way of catholic polemic was issued by Kingston or Sutton during Mary's reign, apart from an edition of Boemus's Fardle of facions for 1555, and a copy of Watson's Holsome and catholyke doctryne which was commissioned by Caly in 1558.

John Walley appears not to have benefited directly from the retirement of the Protestants, but he continued to print throughout Mary's reign on the same scale as under Edward, and may at this time have approved of the return to the old faith. It is true that he had printed several scriptural works under Edward, and also the anti-Gardiner tract, A caveat for the Christians. But under Mary he seems to have formed a connection with the Rastell group, for he joined with Cawood and Tottle in the production of Rastell's edition of More's English works, which was dedicated to the Queen, and he continued to print Rastell's Table of the yeaeres after Elizabeth came to the throne. (2) Walley's partnership with the widow of the catholic printer Robert Toy also suggests a catholic inclination, and the probability is that he was in sympathy with the Marian settlement. This is particularly interesting in the light of his will, which is dated 1586 and shows that by this time Walley was an ardent protestant. In it, he leaves his soul "unto the mercy of Almighty God my creator, the father of heaven, which only of his mere mercy through the blood and merits of his only begotten son Jesus Christ who hath redeemed

(1) See below p. 298.

(2) S.T.C. 20733 - 20739.

me and made me heir of his everlasting and blessed Kingdom. This certainly I am assured by his holy spirit." He leaves several charitable bequests, and directs that his funeral sermon be preached by "Mr Crowley, a godly minister of Christ his church." (1) Under Mary, Walley rose to prominence in the Stationers' Company, being evidently a young man of substance, and well respected in the Company, which he served as Warden in 1557. His output at this time consisted of a mixture of classical texts, romances and instructional handbooks, his earlier law productions being barred by Tottle's patent. Few of his books were polemical, the only religious works to come from his press being the Rastell More, a Sarum Primer (1555), The life of the glorious and blessed martyr St. Katherine (1555), and Peryn's Spirituall exercyses (1557).

It is only when we come to John Cawood, Printer to the Queen, that we find Marian propaganda being produced on any scale. Cawood was responsible for printing all official documents, both secular, such as Acts and Proclamations, and ecclesiastical, such as Articles, Injunctions or Homilies. Various prayers and sermons concerned with the marriage, reconciliation and supposed pregnancy also came from his press, as did two editions of the Pope's Plenary Bull. Apart from these overtly official productions he also printed a number of propaganda tracts by supporters of the government, among them Dudley's Saying uppon the scaffold (1553), Christopherson's Exhortation against rebellion (1553 and '54), A Genealogical table of the King and Queen (1554), and Cranmer's Submyssyons and Recantations (1556). Cawood's religious output consisted of a number of Latin sermons by contemporary divines like Harpsfield, and Weston, some English sermons by Watson, Tunstall and Pollard, and patristic works by Basil, Ambrose and Augustine. He also printed a few controversial tracts such as Barlow's Dyaloge descrybyng the Lutheran faccyons (1553), Bush's Exhortation to Margaret Burges (1555 and '56), and Churchson's Breve treatyse where the Church is (1556). There seems little doubt that the Queen's printer was a committed catholic, but it is unlikely that he was missionary-minded about his faith, despite the production by him of controversial tracts. For Elizabeth to consider him a suitable partner for the more radical Judge he must have shown a degree of moderation in religious matters. His attitude towards the trade in bound service books demonstrated that he put trade

(1) P.C.C. 21 Windsor April 1586. *Prob. 11*, 69.

considerations above missionary activities, (1) and it is even possible that he had information concerning the activities of the exiles which he was withholding from the authorities.(2)

Cawood benefited considerably from the disgrace of the protestant printers, acquiring Grafton's post as Royal Printer, Wolf's classics patent on reversal, and stock from several Edwardian printers, but he, like Tottle, was already a wealthy man in 1553. Robert Caly, on the other hand, returned from exile in 1553 to enjoy his only period of real prosperity. Of all the Marian printers, Caly was the only one who saw his press as an instrument to further his religious ideals. On his return, he moved into Grafton's old premises at Greyfriars, now Christ's Hospital, and began trading at the Bishop's Head, in Paul's Churchyard with the remaining copies of Gardiner's Explication of the true catholique fayth, printed two years before at Rouen, "And now authorised by the Queen's hignesse Counsaile." There seem to be no references to books printed by Caly before his exile, and Seth referred to him as a bookbinder; it is possible that he learned printing in Rouen, possibly under Valentine, possibly with the specific aim of countering the protestant propaganda. On his return to London he launched into print on a large scale, issuing at least forty-five Marian books, all of which, with the possible exception of Proctor's Historie of Wyates rebellion, could be classed as catholic propaganda. In addition to half a dozen liturgical works, he printed sermons by Brooks, Fisher, Glasier, Harpsfield, Edgeworth and Feckenham, six books by Huggard (3) and a number of other controversial tracts, such as the Treatise declaring how Christ was banished, Watson's Holsome and catholyke doctryne and Redman's The complaint of Grace. He also issued several books which had been circulating surreptitiously under Edward, such as White's Diacosiomartyrion, and Martin's Traictise the Marriage of priestes, and he printed Smith's famous defence of orthodoxy the Bouclier of fayth.

Caly's ardour for the catholic cause appears to have gone beyond the printing of catholic literature. He was very probably the Robin Caly, "otherwise called Robin Papist", who figures in Foxe as a promotor, or persecutor of heretics. Among other "promotors"

(1) See below p. 258.

(2) See below p. 310.

(3) S.T.Cs 13556, - 9, 13561, and a version of the 129th Psalm.

mentioned in Foxe was the tailor Beard, who had been associated with Caly in the Edwardian book-smuggling enterprise, and Wayland was also involved in informing on heretics, including his own apprentice, Thomas Green. According to Foxe both Richard Gibson and Alexander Wimshurst were arrested by Robin Caly, and he also had a hand in the arrest of Gee and Waterson. (1) Caly stopped printing on the accession of Elizabeth, and in 1566 Parker mentions that he had been accused of assembling people to hear mass, and subsequently fled abroad. He did not join the Stationers' Company until 1559, at which date he had already stopped printing, and he paid the unusually high price of 8s 4d for the privilege. The Company registers make few references to him.

Caly's appreciation of the missionary value of the controversial tract was remarkable in that of all the Marian printers he was the only one who shared this understanding with the campaigning protestant stationers of the previous reign. There were other Marian printers who issued occasional works of religious polemic, but Caly was the only one to dedicate his press entirely to such productions. Cawood, as we have seen, produced some works of religious controversy, but they made up a relatively small proportion of his output. Tottle, Wayland, Walley, Kingston and Sutton produced little in the way of polemic. John King who started printing in 1554 and issued two Marian Psalters printed nothing else of a religious complexion. Thomas Marsh also started work in 1554 and produced a Sarum Processional and a Sarum Psalter in 1555, but he only printed a couple of tracts of a controversial nature. (2) Marsh appears to have been a friend of William Baldwin, and his was the house that was searched with Kingston's in 1558. Thomas Powell, the conservative printer in charge of Berthelet's presses, issued a sermon by Chrysostom and three pamphlets by Gwynneth (3) but the bulk of his output consisted of literary and humanist texts.

But if, with the exception of Caly, there was very little being printed in the way of religious propaganda, loyalist literature continued to flourish; in fact, it was produced under Mary on a larger scale than ever before. The growth in the popularity of the loyal ballad was in part a reflection of the circumstances of Mary's

(1) Foxe, . vol. Vlll, p. 438, 551, and 724.

(2) Standish, . The triall of the supremacy, 1556.
Fisher, . This treatise concernynge the fruytfull saynges of Davyd. 1555.

(3) See above page 239.

accession, and of the popular esteem she enjoyed at least during the first half of her reign. It was also, no doubt, in part compensation for the street literature on religious topics which had been available under Edward to amuse the city populace. The trend towards such declarations of loyalty continued under Elizabeth, when the Queen became one of the most popular subjects of balladeers. There seems to be in this phenomenon some response to the sex of these two monarchs; it is doubtful that Kings would have drawn forth quite such warm and personal tributes from their subjects as these two Queens. But for whatever reason, a number of such ballads made their appearance during Mary's reign. Two were printed by Richard Lant, who specialised in the production of broadsides, (Forrest's A new ballade of the Mariqolde (1553) and An Ave Maria in commendation of our most virtuous queene (1554)) and others came from the presses of Thomas Powell, (1) and two small scale printers, William Riddael and William Griffith. (2) Riddael, Griffith and Lant were all enthusiastic for the catholic cause, and printed, as well as loyal addresses, the occasional religious tract. (3)

Loyalist sentiments seem to have been stronger among Londoners at this time than doctrinal fervour. The majority seem to have been catholic because they were Marian rather than the other way round. Writers of popular tracts urged obedience to the religious settlement from the Henrician point of view that obedience was the duty of all subjects, rather than because the settlement was theologically superior. The reformers were attacked not in the main for being wrong, but for being arrogant, divisive and socially subversive.⁽⁴⁾ In one of the most persuasive catholic pamphlets to appear under Mary, Miles Huggard goes to some pains to refute the main points of the protestant platform. But, even so, his concern is still predominately with the anti-authoritarian and subversive nature of the reform movement. So his discussion of the rights and wrongs of clerical

(1) Junius, Phillipeis seu in nuptias Philippi, 1554.
Brief Balet touching the traytorous Takynge of Scarborough Castle, 1557.

(2) Riddael; Heywood, Balade of the marriage, 1554 and Now singe, now springe, 1554.
Griffith; Beard, A godly psalme of Marye Queene, 1553.

(3) Griffith; Pollard, Fyve homiles and the Detection of malice in heresy.
Lant, An exclamatiō upō the erronious sprite of heresy, (1555 ?)
Riddael. Erasmus Two Epistles wherein is declared the brainsicke head ines of the Lutherans. 1553.

(4) Loach, G. (252) 'Pamphlets and Politics, 1553-8' in Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research, vol. 48, (1975) p31.

marriage ends with the complaint,

"In this sort these credible gentlemen handled this place, to discredit the catholic church and to allure all men with their pleasant outcries to cast off liberty, to offend God, to offend the magistrates, to break all laws, to undo commonwealthes, to make dearth and scarcity, finally, to do what they like." (1)

Huggard's complaint was not that the reformers had come to the wrong conclusions, but that they had no authority to discuss doctrinal problems in the first place.

"What overweening spirit
Doth puff you in such pride
To think yourselves more godly wise
Than all the world beside?" (2)

.....

2. Liturgical Productions.

A similar return to pre-Edwardian attitudes is found in the government's approach to the service book problem. The effect of thirty years of neglect, followed by the Edwardian confiscation of catholic service books, had produced a lamentable shortage of liturgical aids, a wide variety of which would be required if the whole panoply of catholic ritual was to be revised. The problem was aggravated by the fact that the churches had only recently been put to considerable expense acquiring Bibles, Prayer Books, Paraphrases, and the other works required by the Edwardian settlement. This consideration, however, was not one which cut any ice with Mary's government, and the Queen was determined to enforce a return to the full catholic ritual. In February 1554 priests and churchwardens were ordered to certify by April 6 whether they had their altars set up, chalice, books, vestments and all things necessary for mass and the administration of the sacrament and sacramentals, with processions and all other divine services prepared. If anything was missing, they were to supply it, and signify by whose fault and negligence the same want or fault hath proceeded. (3) In 1554 Bishop Bonner required all his churches to have "a legend, an antiphoner, a grail, a psalter, an ordinal to say or solemnise divine office, a missal, a manual and a processional." (4)

(1) Huggard, The displaying of the Protestantes. R.Caly, 1556.p.22 r & v.

(2) Ibid, p. 2. r.

(3) Foxe., vol. VI, Appendix No.2. Bp. Bonner's Register, CCCXLI, r & v.

(4) An account of these measures is given in S. Monson's strongly biased work, English Prayer Books, (Cambridge, 1945.)

Bp. Bonner's Register, (253) CCCLXVIII r.

There were repeated attempts to ensure that those who could read were supplied with a Primer, and those who could not, had a pair of beads. (1) In 1557 the articles issued by Pole again insisted that churches should be equipped with all the necessary books; defaced or corrected books were not acceptable. (2)

The kind of expense which faced the churches if they were to meet these requirements can be seen in the accounts of the three London churches mentioned above, St. Michael's, Cornhill, St. Martin's in the Fields, and St. Mary Woolnoth and *St Mary Woolchurch Haw.* St. Michael's, which had already spent a total of £6. 11. 5d. equipping itself with Edwardian books, had to find a further £7. 10. 5d. under Mary to pay for three antiphoners, two mass books, four hymnals, two grails, a psalter, a manual, a venite book and five processional. The accounts suggest that a check had been made on books, for in 1554 they record the purchase of "a venite book which did lack in the church." (3) Such a comprehensive list of purchases indicates that St. Michael's had few, if any, Henrician survivals. (4)

St. Martin's in the Fields, which has only scanty records of its Edwardian purchases, amounting to 14s.8d., may also have only partial accounts of its Marian acquisitions. St. Martin's was fortunate to have among its parishioners a certain Mr. Best, who donated to the church several service books which had probably been saved from destruction under Edward; his gift included two grails, an antiphonal, a manual and a processional. But it was still necessary for the churchwardens to buy a mass book and cross, a manual, a portuag, a processional, the homilies and a psalter, and to pay for the mending of a grail. The total cost of the return to catholic ritual, if in fact these accounts are complete, was £1. 9s. 11d. (5)

(1) Greyfriars, p. 97.

(2) Foxe, vol. VIII, pp. 298 and 299.

(3) Accounts of the Churchwardens, St. Michael, Cornhill, p.116.

(4) Ibid. pp. 114, 115, 123, 129, 130, 135, 140.

(5) St. Martin's in the Fields, The Accounts of the Churchwardens, 1525 - 1503, pp. 150, 157, 158, 173, 177.

The parish of St.Mary Woolnoth and St.Mary Woolchurch Haw seems to have been less fortunate than St.Martin's when it came to wealthy benefactors. The total bill for service books which the wardens of this church had to meet under Mary was £10 16s 8d. This large sum was handed over to the stationer Robert Fryer for two antiphoners, two grails, two mass books, one legend, one manual, one venite book, three processional and one dirige book. (1) Some of these books must undoubtedly have been survivals from the reign of Henry VIII since there are no records of Marian editions of, for example, legends.

There must have been many parishes where the cost of meeting the requirements of Mary's government was lightened by the survival, either in the church or in the homes of devout clergy or laymen, of Henrician service books. There also appear to have been a fair number of such survivals in the hands of London stationers.⁽³⁾ But the vast bulk of the service books supplied to the churches under Mary had to be printed anew. The printing and supply of these books, and of the Primers which were still in popular demand, and the use of which the government was encouraging, was approached in an Henrician way which was in marked contrast to the government sponsored printing campaign of Edward's reign. No attempt was made by the government of Mary to ensure that the books which it insisted on the churches possessing were in fact available. Instead it was left entirely to the operation of market forces to supply the need. Instead of directing the printers to print the necessary books, the Marian government directed the churches to acquire them, relying on the demand thus created to ensure an answering supply from the printers. There is, in fact, little evidence that the government even considered the problem of service book supply. The patent which it granted to Wayland for the production of service books in 1553 has none of the evangelical overtones of the Edwardian patents, and was clearly viewed both by Wayland and by the government as a purely commercial transaction. (2)

In the event, this reliance upon market forces to supply the necessary books proved sound. With the largest section of the market,

(1) Transcript of the Registers of St.Mary Woolnoth, P XLX

(2) See Chapter III

(3) We hear, for example, of Henry Fleteman buying old service books in 1552.
(Worman, p.22.)

the trade in popular tracts, forbidden to them, London printers tackled the job of supplying this new demand with enthusiasm. The most urgent need was for manuals, since the possession of a manual allowed a priest to carry out all his essential functions while the full liturgy was being restored. In 1554 at least five separate editions of the manual were printed for the English market, three being issued by Kingston and Sutton, one by Wayland and one by Caly. But the London printers were not alone in appreciating the size of the new market; in Paris and Rouen, printing houses which had supplied England with a large proportion of her service books before the ban of 1534 hurried back into business. In 1554 Regnault, the Parisian printer whose trade had been seriously damaged in 1534, produced a Sarum Breviary, and in 1555 he followed it with a second edition.

Another Parisian, Merlin, produced a fine Missal in 1555, printed by Amazeur, and the following year he too issued a Breviary. But it was from Rouen, from the presses of Robert Valentine, that the vast bulk of English service books were imported. As we have seen, Valentine had produced a Sarum Primer as early as 1551, perhaps on the suggestion of Robert Caly. (1) And it may have been Caly who alerted Valentine to the need for English service books following Mary's accession. Caly was not at this time a member of the Stationers Company and was apparently indifferent to the monopoly interests of that Company. But whether prompted by Caly, or by his own business acumen, Valentine was soon pouring out a veritable torrent of service books. Between 1554 and 1557 he published two editions of the manual, three of the missal, nine of the primer, one processional and two breviaries. To begin with the London printers showed little concern at the import of these Rouen books; the market was large enough to absorb books from every source. In 1555 alone at least twenty seven different editions of liturgical works were printed in London, and published by a total of thirteen different stationers.

But by 1556 the demand was beginning to fall off. The hoped for monastic revival had not materialised, and with its failure the potential market for liturgical works shrank dramatically. Works such as Breviaries, which were produced in large numbers at the beginning of the reign, ceased to appear from the London presses after 1556, and the whole range of service books was affected to some degree by the failure of the monastic section of the market. Without this

(1) See above p. 176.

demand from monastic customers, the call for liturgical aids was limited to the needs of secular clergy, which with the abolition of chantries, meant mainly the needs of parish priests. By 1556 it would seem that these needs had been largely met, and the only market left for the printers was the private sector, which called mainly for the production of primers rather than manuals, processionals and breviaries. This satisfaction of the demand from the parishes for books of public worship does not mean that every church was supplied with all the legally required aids. This was clearly impossible. Even those service books which were produced in the greatest numbers, such as processionals, which ran to ten Marian editions, or manuals, eleven editions of which appeared, fell far short for the coverage achieved by the Edwardian Prayer Books. In two years fourteen large editions of the second prayer book had been printed.

Obviously, more Marian editions were printed than have survived. Some editions of the Antiphoner must have appeared, probably from France, for we have records of copies being purchased. There were almost certainly also small editions of the hymnal, legenda and gradual, for the churches were legally obliged to obtain copies, and seem to have succeeded. But these more specialised books did not usually appear in large editions, and were commonly printed in France, especially if they involved musical notation. When the free trade in French service books was stopped at the beginning of 1557 any editions in course of production or half sold would have been abandoned, so that they were probably quite scarce even in Mary's reign. The long and hostile reign of Elizabeth has succeeded in removing any survivals of such editions. But even if we admit the existence of several editions of catholic service books which have left no survivors, and even if we include in our calculations survivals from the reign of Henry VIII, it is evident that the output of service books between 1553 and 1556 was not sufficient to supply every parish church in the realm with all the books required (1) by law.

Why, then, the fall in demand? Presumably those churches which were not fully equipped by 1556 were either too poor or too obscure to make good their deficiencies. The London

(1) See Appendix IV.

churches and other city parishes which were under close surveillance were obliged to acquire an adequate range of books, and by 1556 they, and other wealthy and enthusiastic parishes had done so. In the remoter country areas parishes were too poor to lay out such large amounts of money, and by 1556 the failure of Mary's pregnancy was calling into question the permanence of the catholic reaction. No church which had not bought its books was going to relish the thought of paying for books which might only be needed for a few years, after which another reversal in policy would entail yet another round of book buying.

As the falling demand for service books began to threaten their trade, the old resentment of the London printers towards their competitors re-emerged. The stationer who suffered most from the activities of the French printers was Wayland, for he had purchased a patent which was meant to guarantee him a monopoly in the supply of such books. In 1555 Wayland published his Uniforme and Catholyke Primer, which he was at pains to point out was "newly set forth by certain of the clergy with the assent of the most reverend father in God the Lord Cardinal Pole his grace; to be only used (all other set apart) of all the King and Queen's majesties' loving subjects throughout all their realms and dominions according to the Queen's Highness' letters patent in that behalf given." (1) This lengthy preamble was presumably aimed both at foreign competitors and at London printers like Caly who had been issuing primers in defiance of Wayland's license. But Wayland was not a member of the Company and received little support from the Stationers; Primers continued to be issued both by the Rouen printers and by London stationers like King and Caly.

It was not until the beginning of 1557, when the demand for service books was falling sharply and the livelihoods of its members were threatened, that the Company took action. In January of that year a deputation from the Company, led by its Warden, John Cawood, and consisting of Anthony Smith, Richard Jugge and William Seres, men of widely varying religious views, none of whom was heavily involved in the service book trade, laid information that Francis Sparye of the parish of St. Michael, Wood Street, had offended against 25 Hen VIII, cap. 15, in that he had purchased 178 books printed abroad and had imported them from Rouen already bound, intending to resell them in London. Sparye admitted the offence, and said that he

(1) STC 16060

had bought the books from Valentine; the shipment in question was probably made up of a Breviary, pars estivalis, and a Missal, which Valentine had printed for the English market in this year. (1),

The action against Sparye had the effect of blocking once again the import trade in service books, the only other foreign edition to appear in Mary's reign being a Sarum Processional printed by Endovian in Antwerp, (presumably he was careful to comply with the conditions of the 1534 act.) This act had given as the reason for closing the door to foreign editions, the newly found skills of the London printers, which, the Act declared, were sufficient to cope with all the demands of the English market. (2) This claim was never really justified, and by the beginning of Mary's reign, what skill the London printers had possessed in this area had been lost. It may have been an awareness of this inadequacy that encouraged the Stationers to permit the import of French books during the first years of Mary's reign. London printers meanwhile familiarised themselves with liturgical printing by producing editions which were based closely on old continental copies. For example, the Sarum Hymnal which Kingston and Sutton produced in 1555 (3) is an exact replica, down to the gathering signatures, of an edition printed at Antwerp in 1541. (4) Evidently Kingston and Sutton were working from a damaged copy, for their reproduction lacks about a quarter of the book, but with this flaw, and with text divided into phrases instead of words, it is an exact copy of the earlier edition. Similarly the Processional issued from Raynald's press in 1555 (5) is identical in content and strongly reminiscent in layout to the Raynes-Ruremund edition of 1544, (6) though the typographical standard was well below that of the original and the later printer could not cope with the complicated diagrams. In fact despite working from earlier continental copies, the London printers were unable to rival the French in either price or quality. Nothing produced in London reached the standard of, for example, the Sarum Missal printed in Paris for Guillaulme Merlin, 1555.(7)

(1) H.J.Byrom, 'Some Exchequer Cases involving Members of the Book Trade, 1534 - 1558', in the Library, Vol.XVI, 4th Series, (1935) p. 402.

(2) See above p.6.

(3) STC 16134

(4) STC 16133

(5) STC 16246

(6) STC 16242

(7) STC 16217

With the banning of French books, many of the more complex liturgical works, which London printers were still reluctant to attempt, disappeared from the bookshops. (1)

By the time the London printers took this action against foreign competitors demand had already fallen so low that there was little market left to protect. The only Marian service books to be published in London after the Stationers' action at the beginning of 1557 were the Antwerp Processional mentioned above and a Missal, assigned to Day but probably printed by Wayland. (2) On the other hand Primers continued to appear in considerable quantities, at least seven more editions being issued under Mary. The popularity of the Primer is an interesting phenomenon, tending to disprove the idea that private catholic devotion was on the wane in the last years of Mary's reign. It is clear that the long standing affection with which Englishmen regarded the Primer, and which John Foxe worked so hard to undermine, was not affected by changes in the forms of public worship, or by preaching campaigns aimed at focusing the layman's religious enthusiasm onto the Bible. But the continued production of Primers owed something, also, to the campaign of the government to ensure that all literate laymen possessed a copy, illiterates to be equipped with some beads. Even so, the production of Primers was not unaffected by the fall in demand which was so noticeable in other areas of service book production. From the thirteen editions of Hours and Primers which were issued in 1555, and the eight editions of 1556, output fell to three editions in 1557 and four in 1558. (3)

But despite the falling off in the production of service books at the end of Mary's reign, her overall strategy of demanding the use of traditional liturgical aids, and leaving the supply of those aids to the normal market forces, seems to have succeeded. Vast numbers of service books were printed in London and Rouen between 1554 and 1556, and the range and quantity of such books must have gone a long way towards restoring the situation of thirty years before, with most parish churches in the realm in possession of at least some liturgical books.

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(1) A similar dearth of the more complex liturgical aids followed the ban of 1534, see above p.6.

(2) See above p. 235.

(3) See Appendix IV.

Edwardian Service Books

The success or failure of Mary's attempt to restore catholic liturgy throughout the land depended to a large extent on her success in eradicating all traces of Edwardian usages . And while large sections of the public appear to have regarded the reformed service with apathy, and many welcomed the return to old forms of worship, there was a minority which was stubbornly and vociferously committed to the maintenance of the Edwardian forms of worship. Against this minority the Marian government acted with some vigour, and the use of Edwardian rites was one of the most common causes for prosecution on the grounds of heresy. Foxe records many instances of individuals and communities being charged with the use of these services, and the increasing stress laid on this offence as the reign wore on suggests both that the government viewed the offence very seriously, and that it was having some trouble stamping it out. The group from Brighthelmstone, Sussex. caught in the act of "saying the service in English set forth in the time of King Edward the Sixth", was charged, among other things, "that ye and every of you have earnestly laboured and travailed to the best and uttermost of your power, to have up again the English service and the communion in all points, as was used in the latter days of King Edward the Sixth." (1)

Nor was it just the Edwardian services which were banned. The use of the English Litany, which was the oldest and perhaps the best loved of the vernacular devotions, could also lead to prosecution. Dirick Carver was one of those charged with having the English procession said in his house. Alcock, who died in Newgate, had avoided the offence of a private reading, private services having been long recognised as an offence against public uniformity. He had recited the Litany daily in the parish church at Hadleigh and for this offence was imprisoned in Newgate, where he was joined by another priest who had been performing a similar service in the parish church at Charing Cross. (2) But, as one might expect, it was the use of the Edwardian communion service which gave most offence. The underground protestant congregations of Mary's reign appear to have remained loyal to the usages of the second Edwardian service book throughout Mary's reign, and many of those tried for heresy defended the godliness of

(1) Foxe, Vol. VII, pp. 322 - 324.

(2) N. of R., p.288. June 1555.

this later book, which they saw as a purified and refined version of the first book. The use of this 1552 communion service was met with rigorous punishment, and this rigour extended not only to the celebrant but to all those who took part in such services. In 1554 Margaret Ellis was prosecuted for receiving the sacrament from her vicar according to the Edwardian rite, (1) and Cuthbert Symson was charged with assembling the congregation for an Edwardian celebration. Among other charges faced by Bartlet Green was attendance at such services, which had apparently been conducted by John Pulleyne at Corn Hill on two successive Easter Sundays. When the congregations at Bow and Islington were interrupted in the performance of the 1552 rite all those present were placed under arrest, though some later escaped.

The charges later laid against John Rough, the pastor of the Islington church, included the following two;

"that thou, since thy last coming into England out of the parts beyond the sea, hast perniciously allured and comforted divers of the subjects of this realm, both young men, old men and women, to have and use the Book of Communion set forth in this realm in the latter days of King Edward the Sixth, and hast also thyself read and set forth the same, causing others to do the like.

that thou hast, in sundry places within this realm since the Queen's reign, ministered and received the communion as it was in the late days of King Edward the sixth, and that thou knowest or credibly hast heard of divers that yet do keep books of the said communion, and use the same in private houses out of the church." (2)

This last sentence is particularly significant, for one of the reasons why Mary's government found it so difficult to stamp out Edwardian usages was the relative ease with which they could be performed in private houses, the amount of consecrated equipment required for the reformed liturgy being considerably less than that required by orthodox rituals. It was clearly intolerable that subjects should absent themselves from public worship in favour of a private, secret and indeed illegal celebration of the sacraments.

In the prisons, on the other hand, the government was faced with the open, and indeed public, celebration of Edwardian services. In the King's

(1) Foxe, vol. VIII, p. 142.

(2) ibid. vol. VIII, p. 446

Bench John Bradford preached regularly twice a day, and ministered the Edwardian communion to large congregations. The Keeper who had allowed him to exercise his ministry in this open way was later in trouble with Dr. Story for his laxity, but Bradford continued to minister publicly even after he had been transferred to the Compter. Ralph Allerton, imprisoned for maintaining that "the book of Common Prayer set forth in the reign of King Edward the sixth was in all points good and godly", compounded his offence by using the book in prison in company with his fellow prisoners. Reformed services were also held in the Lollards' Tower and the Marshalsea, where two religious prisoners, Marsh and Warburton, were even reading the morning and evening services for the benefit of passers by in the street outside. When Dr. Sands wished to celebrate the reformed communion in the Tower he was assisted by the gaoler, who provided him with a service book (1).

For these prisoners there was little to be lost and much to be gained in the open use and acknowledgement of the reformed liturgy, but for the community outside the prisons adherence to the Edwardian services was a dangerous matter. The use of these services had been banned in December 1553, and in June 1555 the law was tightened still further by the Proclamation forbidding anyone to write, print, utter, sell, read or keep any of the Edwardian service books, and ordering all such books to be handed in to the ordinary within fifteen days to be burned. Failure to comply carried the penalties of heresy (2). It is true that possession of Edwardian books was not in practice treated as a burning issue unless it was accompanied by some other misdemeanour. Only towards the end of the reign when the government was becoming frustrated at the failure of its efforts to stamp out reformed usages, and when the persecution of heretics was being conducted mainly by the fanatical Dr. Story, did mere possession lead to rigorous punishment. The case of William Gie, who was flogged for buying a Prayer book, was unusual in that Gie was not, apparently, charged with participating in the services contained in the book. Even so, Gie, and Waterson, the stationer who suffered with him, had engaged in buying and selling the illegal book after the proclamation of June 1555, and their offence was clearly more serious than the retention of a book acquired before 1553.

(1) Foxe, vol. VII, pp. 145, 262, 46, 47; vol. VIII, pp. 411, 593.

(2) See above, p. 81 .

In general, it seems that the protestants were not molested for the mere possession of Edwardian books, or indeed for the private use of them. Rowland Taylor continued to use his litany while he was in prison, and when his family gathered for a farewell supper they all knelt down and recited it together. Taylor then "gave to his wife a book of the church service set out by King Edward, which he, in the time of his imprisonment, daily used." (1) The distinction which was drawn between the possession and the public use of these books was underlined in the case of Edmund Allin, who was arrested in 1557 with his wife on suspicion of "exhorting and reading the Scriptures to the people". His house was searched, and "certain books, as Psalters, Bibles and other writings" were found. But Allin was examined on his right to preach, and on the sacrament, his possession of illegal books not even being mentioned. Moreover, on the accession of Elizabeth, Allin sued for the return of these books, which should have been burned or defaced, and they were returned to him unharmed. (2)

But if possession of Edwardian books did not of itself provoke the full rigour of the law, it remained a very dangerous matter, for it constituted grounds for suspicion of heresy, upon which a man could be examined concerning his beliefs on such dangerous subjects as the eucharist. William Ellenby, for example, was subjected to ecclesiastical examination when he was found in possession of an English Psalter and the Institution of a Christian Man. The skill with which the examiners could turn the subject towards sacramental orthodoxy provoked a protest from more than one prisoner. (3)

In the battle to suppress the use and possession of Edwardian books, as in so many aspects of her religious policy, the turning point for Mary's government came in 1556. Before that critical year some progress had been made in suppressing public performances of Edwardian services, and recalcitrant clergymen like Alcock and Mountayne had been punished. There had also been a number of arrests of groups of people accused of joining together to perform Prayer Book services in

(1) Foxe, vol. VI, p. 692.

(2) *ibid.*, vol. VIII, p. 522.

(3) John Rogers accused Gardiner of examining him under a law which had not existed at the time of Rogers' imprisonment, with the intention of condemning him to death. Gardiner was shocked at the suggestion, but could not deny its validity.

private houses. But from 1556 onwards the authorities suffered a reversal in their policy, as more and more people began to attend the services given by the underground protestant congregations. The alarm felt by the government at this resurgence of protestant worship was reflected in an increasingly harsh attitude towards those found in possession of illegal prayer books. The Interrogatories to Churchwardens issued in 1558 again inquired into the use of the Edwardian services; "whether there be within your Parish any that doth favour or is suspected to receive any naughty person or persons especially to read the English service used in the time of King Edward the Sixth or the book of Communion, or any book prohibited to be read or taught." (1) John Foxe later claimed that as the reign drew to a close the mere possession of a prayer book became increasingly a matter for persecution. The cases of Gae and Waterson reflected this new and harder line on the part of the authorities. (2)

The reason for this continued and increasing use of Edwardian services may lie in the realisation in 1556 that Mary would not produce an heir, and that the catholic reaction was unlikely to be permanent. But the role of the prison congregations as centres both of worship and of instruction must also have been significant. Moreover, while the leaders of the London congregations gave proof of their integrity in the fires of Smithfield, other pastors continually stepped forward to take their place, so that the community was never left without a leader. This succession of dedicated leaders ensured that the London community remained theologically and liturgically firmly based on the traditions of Edwardian protestantism.

When it came to the Bible the government was in something of a quandary. The Henrician situation, restored when Edward's Repealer was repealed, permitted, and indeed encouraged, the use of the Great Bible, and technically this appears to have been the position throughout Mary's reign. So, for example, when Philpot, at his trial, demanded the return of his Bible, he associated it with other "lawful" books. (3) Bonner refused his request, but offered to let him have another. But the authorities, without actually banning the Bible

(1) Interrogatories upon which churchwardens... 1558 (Caly). Aiii r & v.

(2) See p. 309.

(3) Foxe, Vol. VII, p.666/7

altogether, discouraged the reading of it as much as possible. The famous story of the painter threatened by Gardiner with imprisonment in the Fleet for painting Henry VIII with a Bible in his hand and the words Verbum Dei inscribed on it, demonstrates their view precisely. "It is" declared Gardiner, "against the queen's catholic proceedings."

(1) In the same vein, Gardiner's almoner, Brooks, declared that the scriptural texts painted on the walls of the Marshalsea were a "piece of heresy", and he ordered their removal. (2) Gardiner seems to have been particularly anxious to stamp out the reading of vernacular scriptures, and Stephen Gratwick complained that he was confiscating prisoners' books and "permitting them not so much as a Testament to look upon for their soul's comfort." (3)

Nevertheless, the Great Bible remained legal throughout Mary's reign, although the Interrogatories of 1558 reiterated the ban on false translations, a ban which in itself implied the existence of a true translation. Possession of the Great Bible might be dangerous as an implication of possible heretical tendencies, but it was not in itself an offence. So when Roger Holland was examined for heresy in 1558 he was permitted to use his New Testament of the Great Bible translation. On the other hand possession of other translations could be dangerous if coupled with other offences. When Jeffrey Hurst's house was searched and a New Testament and two parts of the Old according to Tyndale's translation were found, one of the searchers declared "then are all their goods lost to the queen, and their bodies to prison." (4) William Living, arrested in 1558 for possessing a book of astronomy, was deprived of "my purse, my girdle, and my Psalter and a New Testament of Geneva." (5) This policy of discriminating between copies of the Great Bible, possession of which was legal, and illegal versions, caused some problems to the officials. For example, when the Keeper of Newgate discovered Edward Benet trying to smuggle a Bible in to a prisoner named Tingle disguised as powdered beef, he was unable to decide whether the book was permissible or not. He took Benet and the book to Sir Roger Cholmeley for a decision. Sir Roger declared that the Bible, which was a Coverdale version, was

(1) Chronicle of Queen Jane and Queen Mary, p.78.

(2) N. of R., p.185

(3) Foxe, Vol. VIII. p.319.

(4) Ibid., Vol. VIII p.563.

(5) Ibid., Vol.VIII, p.529.

illegal, and sent Benet to the Compter. (1) This uncertainty about the allowability or otherwise of vernacular scriptures seems to have driven many educated protestants to return to their Erasmian Testaments.

Philpot based his defence upon this translation, and John Bland also had his Latin Testament in court. Glover, who was denied all books in prison, including the Prayer Book which he nevertheless smuggled in, was allowed to keep his Latin Testament, (2)

Given the overtly Lutheran nature of Tyndale's translation, and indeed the protestant bias of all the vernacular translations, it is not surprising that the government looked askance upon the reading of such translations. But unless the possession of English scriptures was accompanied by some other offence, it was rarely considered sufficient cause in itself for prosecution. William Living's offence was not the possession of a Genevan Bible, but of a book of conjuration. And in general it was only when the owner of an English Bible committed the offence of reading it aloud to an assembled congregation that dire consequences followed. The search of Allin's house was precipitated by reports that he had been reading and interpreting the Bible in public, and Ralph Allerton was another accused of this offence. He had been reading the New Testament to congregations, so that "a great sort of the parish will be gathered one day to one place, and another day to another place, to hear him," instead of attending mass at the parish church. Dirick Carver was another enthusiastic Bible reader. Having been imprisoned in Newgate for reading the Psalter and the Bible to congregations in his own home, he continued the practice in prison until the keeper confiscated his books. James Trevisam also ran into trouble for this offence, though in his case the congregation was hardly more than his family, consisting of himself, the reader, who was his servant John Smal, his wife, and three other persons.(3)

The reluctance of the government to hold an all out campaign against the possession of illegal Bibles is understandable, in the light of the fact that by 1557 there were thirty editions of the whole Bible in circulation, and a further fifty of the New Testament alone.(4) To confiscate and destroy such a vast number of books would have taken the whole energies of the government over several years, and would have

(1) Foxe, Vol.VIII, p.561.

(2) Ibid. Vol.VII, p.296, 396.

(3) Ibid. Vol.VIII, p.409, Vol. VII. P.323, 287.

(4) H.S.Bennett, English Books and Readers 1475 - 1557 (Cambridge 1952.)

met with resistance from many Englishmen who were in no way committed protestants but who valued their vernacular books simply because they were in the vernacular. For Mary's government, while the reading of English Bibles represented an aberration to be discouraged, the most pressing problem was the confiscation of the large numbers of Edwardian Prayer Books still in circulation.

This task was in itself daunting enough. There had been at least twenty seven complete editions of the Prayer Books issued during Edward's reign, not counting issues of sections of the liturgy. Putting these editions at the low figure of 700 copies each, and they were more likely to have been in the order of 1500 copies, we still arrive at a total of 18,900 copies in circulation in 1553. Moreover these books were all new and in good condition, and some effort had been made to ensure that they were distributed throughout the realm. Nevertheless, the government was determined to stamp out the use and possession of these books, and possession of them was clearly more dangerous than owning an English Bible. Hurst, who had allowed the searchers to find his Tyndale scriptures, had previously hidden his communion book which had been declared illegal on several occasions. The Proclamation of 1554 announcing the Injunctions, urged the bishops to "travail for the condemning and repressing of corrupt and naughty opinions, unlawful books" etc. In June 1555 another proclamation ordered the surrender and destruction of all heretical books and Edwardian service books and laid down that after fifteen days a search should be made of the "houses, closets and secret places of every person of whatsoever degree being negligent in this behalf and suspected to keep any such books." (1) The Commission of 1556 to search out heresies bestowed on the commissioners wide powers of search and interrogation, and especially mentioned printer's houses or shops. But it was not possible to search everyone's house, and the authorities had to confine their attention to the homes of those already suspected of holding protestant views. In 1558 the Interrogatories to Churchwardens enquired whether the wardens knew or had heard of anyone that kept "any hereticall, naughty, or seditious erroneous book or books, especially English testaments or Bibles falsely translated". The wardens were also asked about the performance of the Edwardian liturgy by members of their parish. But once again the authorities had to rely

(1) See above p. 263.

on suspicions and hearsay to give them some excuse for a search. The impossibility of a house to house search guaranteed the survival of a large number of Edwardian service books and Henrician and Edwardian Bibles into the next reign.

Those books which were gathered in from the houses of suspected heretics and from the stocks of printers like Seres, were burned with as much publicity as possible. It was common for offensive books to be burned with their heretic owners, and Foxe gives many accounts of martyrs gaining strength from the Testament or Prayer Book which was to share their fate. On one occasion the martyr Dirick Carver tried to throw his Prayer Book clear of the fire, but the sheriff was determined that it should burn with its owner. Apart from their own books, heretics were often accompanied to the flames by the latest haul of confiscated literature. When William Wolsey and Pygot were burned "cometh one to the fire with a great sheet knit full of books to burn, like as they had been New Testaments." The two martyrs were allowed to hold one each at the stake. (2) A similar incident took place at the burning of Hullier in 1556. Foxe describes how "there was a company of books which were cast into the fire; and by chance a communion-book fell between his hands, who receiving it joyfully opened it and read." (3)

To avoid discovery the protestants thought of some ingenious hiding places for their books. Mistress Anne Lacy buried her Bible and other books in a dung hill (4) while Underhill arranged to have his bricked up in a fire place. This method was so effective that he was able to retrieve his books unharmed when Elizabeth succeeded her sister on the throne. (5) Even in prison hiding places could be found, Ralph Allerton leaving two books and two epistles between the post and the wall of his cell for the comfort of its next occupant, with instructions that he in turn should pass them on to his successor. (6)

Apart from the books which were preserved by these imaginative shifts, many more Edwardian service books survived into Elizabeth's reign in the homes of those who were not suspected of heretical views

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(2) Foxe, Vol.VII, p.405.

(3) Ibid. Vol.VIII, p.379.

(4) Ibid. Vol.VIII, p.556.

(5) N. of R. p.171.

(6) Foxe, Vol.VIII, p.415.

and therefore not searched. Others went abroad with the exiles, most of whom continued to use the 1552 liturgy despite some arguments about the possibility of further reform. As John Rough testified in 1557, while denying that he knew anyone in England who possessed a Prayer Book, "on the other side he knew many that had those books." (1) That a large number survived the efforts of Mary's government to destroy them is proved by the speed with which the English ritual reappeared on Mary's death. In December 1558 Il Schifanoja reported to his Venetian correspondent that the Edwardian litany was being used, and Surian wrote in the following January that "many persons are celebrating according to the manner observed under King Edward." (2) As the first Elizabethan Prayer Books were not published until 1559 these services must have relied on Edwardian survivals. We hear of such survivals in the accounts of the churchwardens. At St.Martin's in the Fields an item is entered in 1560 "for new binding of the old Communion book in boards." (3) This book was almost certainly an Edwardian Prayer book, since an Elizabethan one would be scarcely a year old, and certainly not in need of re-binding. At St.Michael's Cornhill they had an old copy of the Paraphrases. This had been bought in 1548 for five shillings, together with a chain, but in 1560, 8d was laid out for a new chain. No mention is made of a new copy of the book, but it is highly probable that the book had become separated from its chain during Mary's reign.(4)

It is difficult to make any comparison of the survival rates of books under Edward and Mary. Both governments seem to have made some attempt to suppress the rival liturgy, but Mary's had the extra bite of the Heresy Laws with their penalty of burning for the possession of heretical books. The strongest parallel seems to have been the strong attachment of the protestant layman for his Prayer Book, (5) which contained many devotions which could be performed privately without the help of the priest, and the lasting affection of the catholic layman for his Primer, which again represented his private and personal devotions. (6)

(1) Ibid. Vol. VIII, p.446.

(2) Ven. Cal., Vol.VII, pp.1 & 8.

(3) St.Martins. The Accounts of the Churchwardens, p.177

(4) St.Michael, Accounts of the Churchwardens. p.153

(5) and increasingly for the Metrical Psalms.

(6) For Ridley's attempt to stamp out the use of illegal Primers, see Ridley's Articles, Foxe, Vol.VI. App.1.

Where the Protestant liturgy gained over the catholic in times of oppression was that in the survival of the Prayer Book the rituals for public prayer were also preserved, whereas the liturgical aids required for the mass did not survive in such numbers, being more complex and of a more purely public nature. The wide distribution of Prayer Books under Mary enabled the underground congregations to maintain both a public and a private form of worship so that when Mary died the outline of the Elizabethan liturgy was already present in the living tradition of the 1552 book.

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3. Seditious literature

One of the most constant elements in Mary's approach to the problem of offensive literature was the confusion of heretical with seditious opinions. (1) This confusion found expression in legislation concerning the publication of books, and as a result of Mary's attitude the belief that heresy necessarily led to sedition became something of a self-fulfilling prophecy. And yet for at least the first half of Mary's reign this belief had little foundation. With the failure of Northumberland's coup, protestant writers hastened to dissociate themselves from such treacherous proceedings, and early publications by religious dissenters were overwhelmingly loyal. In fact the most famous of these early pamphlets was apparently written before the failure of the coup became apparent. "The Copie of a pistel or letter sent to Gilbard Potter in the tyme when he was in prison for speakinge on our most true quenes part the lady Mary," was apparently written by 'Poore Pratte' to his friend Potter during Northumberland's brief rule and was later committed to print. As the author explains,

"I have (faithful Gilbard) scattered abroad
three of these books more, and two also have
I sent into the ragged bear's camp; Keep
that close which thou hast; the world is
dangerous; the great devil Dudley ruleth...
I have proved if I could get a M of them
inprinted in some strange letter, and so
a number of them to be dispersed abroad...."(2)

(1) See above p. 55 ff.

(2) A vii v.

He was apparently successful, for the pamphlet was issued in printed form on the 1st August by Hugh Singleton. Potter had been pilloried and had lost both ears for dissenting to the proclamation of Queen Jane. Both he and his correspondent were ardent loyalists and ardent protestants, and indeed one of the divine punishments which Pratte feared if the people forgot their loyalty was that tyranny would replace legal kingship, and "the Gospel shall be plucked away, the right heir shall be disposessed, and all for our unthankfulness." (1) The writer of this pamphlet could hardly have been unaware of Mary's religious views, but he does not seem to have realised that the new Queen was determined to enforce a catholic reaction throughout the country. His concern was purely with the upholding of the legitimate succession, "And would to god that I might live (if it so pleased her grace) to have another vertuous Edward; and God make her grace fruitful and send her fruit to inherit the Kingdom after her," (2) In fact this pamphlet might be seen as the last of the anti-Northumberland bills as much as the first of the loyalist bills of Mary's reign. As we have seen, (3) Northumberland faced a rising tide of criticism during his ascendancy, and it seems likely that had his coup succeeded, hostile bills would have appeared on the streets in ever increasing numbers. Indeed, Pratte, who seems to have expected a prolonged struggle, promised to send Potter further letters to entertain him in prison. But if the coup had succeeded it is doubtful whether any of these bills would have reached a press.

Another printed bill which appeared in July and which seems to have been the work of a protestant loyalist, is the ballad An invectyve agaynst Treason, by T.W., printed by Roger Madeley and sold from the Star in Paul's churchyard. (4) This poem, which is exactly what its title proclaims, denounces Northumberland in incredibly bad verse, and likens him to traitors from the past. It contains nothing of a religious tone, but the description of Edward as the righteous one "which saught and minded god's glory, intending virtuous ways," suggests that the author may have been a protestant. This broadside was issued after the succession was assured, but it appears that there were manuscript bills circulating in the city while the question hung

(1) A iiii v.

(2) A viii r.

(3) See above p. 166.

(4) The Star was the office of the protestant printer T. Raynald.

in the balance. Apart from the original of the Pratte bill, there was a placard supporting Mary's claims which was pinned to the church wall in Queenhithe. (1) Underhill also joined in the battle, though whether his ballad, which drew on arguments from Tyndale to support Mary's claim, appeared before or after the issue had been decided, is unclear. (2) It must have been printed fairly early in Mary's reign, for it was almost certainly printed by the hot gospeller's friend and previous publisher, John Day, and Day fled within weeks of Mary's accession. Possibly dating from the same period is Nicholas Throckmorton's famous apologetic; he certainly stood in some need of clearing his name, having played a highly questionable role in the episode of Queen Jane. But if the first version of the ballad dated from this period, it was probably not the version which we now know.(3)

One other printed bill seems to have been circulating in the first weeks of Mary's reign, and that was the ballad A lamentation that Lady Jane made, saying for my father's proclamation Now must I lose my head. This was entered to Sampson in 1560, (4) but clearly dates from the early days of the reign, before it became clear that Jane was to be spared, at least for the time being.

This first batch of street literature to appear in Mary's reign was concerned solely with the dynastic struggle, and appears to have been the work of the same protestant pamphleteers that had been active under Edward. And yet within weeks these loyalist gospellers were silenced by the dilemma posed by a rightful heir who was clearly determined on a catholic reaction. (5) The Queen's inability to see that religious dissent was not necessarily malicious aggravated the problem. As Foxe complained, in the early months of her reign many godly protestants "delivered her books and supplications made out of the Scripture, to exhort her to continue in the true doctrine then established, and for their good will were sent to prison." (6)

(1) Strype, E.M., Vol.111, part 1, p.7.

(2) N. of R., p.134, 139.

(3) Printed in the Chronicle of Queen Jane and Queen Mary.

(4) Arber, Transcripts, Vol.1. p.152.

(5) By the end of August, mass had been restored in some London parishes (Machyn p.41,42) The beginning of September saw the imprisonment of leading Protestants.

(6) e.g. William Smythe's imprisonment, Dec.2 1553, A.P.C., IV, p.375.

In these circumstances the loyalty of the gospellers began to be a little strained. One ballad, which was apparently laid in the Queen's closet on her desk, to be found by her when she came to her prayers, began in the strain of loyal ballads like the Ballad of the Marigolde, or An Ave Maria in commendation of our Most vertuous Queene

"O lovesome rose, most redolent,
Of fading flowers most fresh,
In England pleasant is thy scent,
For now thou art peerless... (1)

But after a few verses of this it turns into a violent denunciation of Mary for resurrecting the idolatrous mass, for imprisoning and persecuting God's ministers without legal pretext, for silencing good preachers, and for turning to Gardiner

"who did your blood most stain
That he may suck the righteous blood
As he was wont again." (2)

The poet then likens Mary to Jezebel and warns her of divine intervention on behalf of Christ's flock. This ballad demonstrates how heretical dissent over the restoration of the mass could lead to attitudes to the Queen which, while not openly violent or seditious, (the outcome is left to divine intervention) were certainly not shining examples of loyalty and devotion. The ballad is printed by Foxe, which suggests that it was circulated in manuscript, or if printed was not issued in large numbers, for Foxe rarely prints anything which was already available to his contemporaries. In fact, while the earliest batch of bills, Poore Pratte, the Invective, the Lady Jane ballad and Underhill's bill, were probably all printed, by the time the catholic restoration was under way most of the protestant printers, including Day and Singleton, had fled, and later bills appear to have been mainly manuscript.

Another manuscript bill in circulation at this time was Cranmer's Purgation. This document, which Cranmer had intended to post upon the doors of city churches, got into the hands of John Scory, who had it copied, and by the second week of September London was full of it. No printed copy was issued, presumably because most of the sympathetic printers had already fled, but every scrivener's shop was apparently busy copying it, and it appeared in as many

(1) Foxe, Vol.VIII, p.717 - 719, lines 1 - 4.

(2) lines 94 - 6.

copies as if it had been printed. (1) Once again, this Purgation was not exactly seditious, but it was strongly enough worded to justify the Council's complaint that it moved "tumults to the disquietness of the present state." (2) It was besides an act of public defiance and dissent, and as such could with some excuse be described as seditious.

But if the gossellers were having difficulty maintaining their loyalty in the face of government hostility, there were others who had apparently not given up hope of fuelling a successful coup with the fires of gospel enthusiasm. On August 16 the Imperial Ambassadors sent the Emperor an example of a "defamatory leaflet" which had been scattered around the streets of London. This bill urged protestant noblemen and gentlemen to raise their power to exterminate the papists who had just been appointed to the Council. "Winchester, the great devil, must be exorcised and exterminated with his disciples named above, before he can poison the people and wax strong in his religion. Draw near to the Gospels and your guerdon shall be the crown of glory." (3) In reply the Emperor urged that the author should be rooted out, but he made no mention of a printer, and it is extremely unlikely that anything so openly treasonable would have appeared in print.

This little missive was probably the work of young hotheads around the court; it was clearly not the authentic voice of the protestant community. This voice, following the publication of Cranmer's Purgation, fell largely silent at home with the printers and many of the protestant writers of the previous reign in exile. But within weeks a stream of pamphlets began to appear from the presses of Singleton, Dorcaster and Wood (4) in which the leaders of the protestant community, men like Knox, Bale and Hocper, exhorted their congregations to endure to the end. The tone of these pamphlets was determinedly pacifist, the only relief from melancholy resignation being the expectation of Divine Retribution upon those who persecute the gospel. As the author of A letter sent from a banished Minister of Jesus Christ unto the faithful Christian flocke in England (5) declares;

(1) Span. Cal., Vol.XI, p.240.

(2) A.P.C., Vol.IV, p.347.

(3) Span. Cal., Vol.XI, p.173-4.

(4) See above p.228.

(5) 'Prynted at Roane by Michael Wodde'4 Jan. 1554.

"This is the only way, brethren, that the church of god obtaineth victory by, not as wordly princes do, by subduing, but by suffering; not by drawing out the sword with Peter, but by having our heads stricken off with the same; not by imprisoning and binding of other, but by being imprisoned and bound ourselves....Let us be contented withal, and above all things let us avoid murmurations against the higher powers, who are God's instruments to work his will, whether it be life or death, good or evil." (1)

In a similar vein; though directed to a humbler audience, was a little tract called A Dialogue or familiar talke betwene two neighbours, cocernynq the chyefest ceremonyes set up agayne (2) This rehearses the basic tenets of the protestant gospel, particularly its sacramental theology, and appears to be by a pastor to his congregation. Once again the point is stressed that

"our Lord Jesus Christ will come shortly, and with the breath of his mouth destroy that adversary. He shall not be destroyed by sword, nor strength of man's power, but by the power of god and by the sword of his word." (3)

During the first year of Mary's reign twenty or so of these non violent protestant tracts were issued from the underground presses at Antwerp, Wesel and East Anglia. The stress they laid on the illegality of resistance suggests that the protestant establishment was having some difficulty persuading all the gossellers that silent suffering was the only allowable path. But even if these publications avoided open treason, the government could with some justification condemn them as seditious. As a public expression of dissent they were an open encouragement to others to disobey, albeit passively, and it could not be the part of a loyal subject to call upon God to overthrow the magistrate as an agent of the devil. One of the Singleton tracts, An humble supplication unto God for the restoringe of hys holye woorde (4) describes how, as a punishment for England's sins, God has taken away Edward, and has set in his place "an woman whom nature hath formed to be in subjection unto man, and whom thou by thine holy Apostle commandeth to keep silence, and not to speak in the congregation." He adds that most women rulers have been "wicked,

(1) A iiii v. & A v.r.

(2) "From Roane, by Michael Wodde," 20 Feb. 1554.

(3) E iiii r.

(4) "Imprynted at Strasburgh in Elsas at the signe of the golde Bibell. August 1554."

ungodly, superstitious and given to idolatry and to filthy abomination." The author suggests that brimstone will be the most effective answer, but he comes close to denying the legitimacy of Mary's rule on the grounds of sex, if not of tyranny. (1)

The discussion of books printed outside the country would not normally fall within the scope of this thesis, but this first batch of dissenting tracts are of interest in connection with the London printers, both because they were printed by exiled London stationers, and because they give some suggestion of a London based campaign of propaganda. (2) But whatever organisation lay behind the Wood/Dorchester/Singleton books the arrest of Day and of dozens of sympathetic Londoners in the autumn of 1554 put an end to it. From now on the propaganda of religious dissent was organised by the exiles and printed abroad, though the financing of the campaign and help with smuggling and distribution came from friends at home. For the rest of Mary's reign the main stream of reforming literature to be produced in London consisted of the prison letters, written by protestant clergymen, and other prisoners, for the encouragement of their brethren, and widely circulated in manuscript. The imprisoned gossellers clearly saw the writing of such epistles as one of their most important tasks, and from their confessional tone there can be no doubt that the majority of them were intended from the start for public consumption. They were assiduously collected and preserved by sympathisers, and a number found their way abroad, particularly to John Foxe, who was presumably known to be collecting records of the sufferings of the brethren. Even so, few were printed during Mary's reign, though, as Strype says, "transcriptions and copies thereof were taken, and so dispersed for the use of good men." (3) The impact of these epistles, many of which were written in a fine Pauline style, (4) upon the general public was apparently considerable, for the writing of such letters came to be considered an offence in itself. One of the articles objected against Bradford was that he wrote seditious letters perverting the people and upholding the

(1) A vii r, E ii r.

(2) See above p.231.

(3) Strype, E.M., Vol.3, part 1, p.586.

(4) e.g. Hooper's consolatory letter to imprisoned professors of the Gospel. Strype, E.M., Vol.111, part 11, p.273.

Edwardian settlement. Bradford was certainly one of the most prolific letter writers of all the prisoners, addressing letters not only to the cities of London and Cambridge but also to George Eaton, Lady Vane, Augustine Bernher, Lord Russell, Mistress Wilkinson, Dr: Hill, the Warcupps, and others. (1) But however numerous and however moving, these letters were never seditious or rabble-rousing. Indeed, apart from the violent little missive discussed above, (2) the unveiling of Mary's catholic policy produced little that was positively treasonable.

It was with the first mention of the Spanish marriage, in the autumn of 1553 that the first really hostile bills began to appear in London. When the possibility of such a marriage was first discussed a number of bills appeared on the streets listing arguments against such an alliance which closely echoed the views of the French Ambassador. An interesting example is described in a letter from the Imperial ambassadors to the Emperor, dated September 19 1553.

"A personage of this place, adviser of Courtenay and the lady Elizabeth, came to see us at our lodgings to communicate the writing whereof we send a copy with this letter, and find out if we were of opinion that the coronation should precede Parliament...The publication of such leaflets, intended to bring about the Parliament before the coronation, is no doubt made with the object of traversing the Queen's affairs." (3)

The leaflet in question apparently suggested that, as Mary was likely to contravene the wishes of Parliament, her position should be established in Parliament before she was crowned. It is possible that this bill was printed, and so may have been another pamphlet circulating at this time, The discourse of an English Gentleman. It seems certain that some bills were in print. They were aimed at Parliament, hoping to sway the members against the Queen's policy, and also perhaps expressing the discontent of some of the Members themselves. For the rest of Mary's reign, every session of Parliament was to produce a crop of bills and pamphlets, and the possibility exists that a few discontented members had access to a press.

As the months passed towards Philip's arrival in England, the hostility which had greeted the first suggestion of the match did not

(1) Foxe, Vol. VII, pp. 196 - 268.

(2) p. 275.

(3) Span. Cal., Vol. XI, p. 241.

subside. Further bills and ballads appeared, and in December Richard and Thomas Trendell were committed to the Marshalsea for framing a "lewd Bill." (1) When Wyatt's rebellion finally broke out it was accompanied by another flurry of bills, the most interesting of which were the official publications of the opposing camps, in which the battle for public support ended with a victory for the Queen. Wyatt was the first to make his bid for popularity, issuing a Proclamation calling upon the gentry and commons to raise a power to defend the country from strangers, and declaring the loyalty of the rebels. (2) This was countered by a series of proclamations in which, by declaring Wyatt a traitor and offering pardon to the rebels, and by distributing copies of the marriage treaty, which absolutely bristled with safeguards, the Queen effectively cut the ground from under Wyatt's feet. (3)

The most famous piece of literature to come out of the rebellion of 1554 was John Proctor's The historie of Wyates rebellion (R.Caly, 1554) which blamed the insurrection on the gospellers, and made the time-honoured equation between heresy and sedition;

"That most vile and devilish rabble of Antichrist's ministers by their pestilent books teach you in corners, as that by god's lawye may rebel against your head." (4)

In fact, Wyatt and his followers were clearly moved by political rather than religious dissent, though what religious sentiment there was in the affair was undoubtedly protestant rather than catholic. But for the rest of Mary's reign such dissent as found expression in street literature was almost devoid of religious interest. It reflected rather the wounded national pride of patriotic, xenophobic and anticlerical Englishmen, and normally appeared at the time of a Parliamentary session. So, in the April following the suppression of Wyatt, as M.P.s were assembling in London for the Easter session, another rash of bills appeared on the streets.

On 7th April, the Renard advised the Emperor that a letter had been scattered about the streets, as seditious as possible, and in favour of the Lady Elizabeth. He also wrote of another bill, similarly dispersed, which bore nothing but the words "Stand firm and gather

(1) A.P.C., Vol.IV, p.380. This may have been the "slanderous placard" against the Queen's marriage which Renard described on Jan.7th

Span. Cal., Vol.XII, p.17.

(2) Proctor, A viii v.

(3) See below p. 326.

(4) J.Proctor, The historie of Wyates rebellion, M viii, v.

together, and we will keep the Prince of Spain from entering the kingdom." (1) Also on the 7th, John Nutley, who had been found in possession of a seditious bill, was sent by the Council to the Marshalsea, to be followed later in the month by "one Neale of the Temple", who was committed on account of a lewd book which was found in his chamber and presumed to be his own work. (2) On the 8th, a certain Matravers was committed to the Sheriffs of the city for spreading abroad a seditious bill. (3)

It seems likely that the first of these bills, described by Renard as "in favour of the Lady Elizabeth" was the printed libel against Mary and Philip which had been published in Danzig by William Hotson. Enquiries by the Danzig authorities unearthed the information that Hotson had set the work to print in Danzig on behalf of a London sailor named Harry Broder, who gave him some examples, and a "learned person." (4) These two had asked Hotson for such a sort of writings to be "thrown in the streets and highways that people might read them." Hotson said that he had received the manuscripts from an Englishman named Thomas Gothfort. (5)

A probable identification of this pamphlet is that it was the highly seditious little tract Certayne Questions Demanded and asked by the Noble Realme of Englande, of her true naturall chyldren and Subjectes of the same.. This carries the ironic imprint, "Imprinted at London at the earnesteste requeste and sute of youre graces trewe and faythfull servaunt Myles Hogherde." It consisted of a list of rhetorical questions, for example;

"whether there be two kinds of treasons, one to the King's person and another to the body of the realm. Whether a Prince can betray his own realm, or not and whether the prince cannot deliver up unto another foreign Prince, the right, title tuition and defence of his realm without the consent of his lawful heir or heirs apparent and faithful subjects unto any stranger without their lawful and expressed consent of them both. Whether subjects ought to look to their own safety and to the safety of the realm and to join themselves wholly together to put down such a Prince as seeketh all means possible to deliver them, their lands, their goods, their wives, their children and the whole realm into the hands of Spaniards who be most justly hated like dogs all the world over.

(1) Span. Cal., Vol.XII, p.213.

(2) A.P.C., Vol.V, pp 8,14.

(3) Ibid., Vol.V,p.9.

(4) A possible identification of this learned person might be John Ponet.

(5) Foreign Cal., Mary, p.105.

Whether the commons may not lawfully by the laws
of god and nature stand against a Prince, to
depose her.

Whether the Pope be God or God the Pope." (1)

It is highly improbable that such virulent stuff was printed in London, and internal evidence suggests that it appeared at the same time as the Danzig pamphlet and the "seditious bill in favour of Elizabeth." The text refers to the imprisonment of Elizabeth, the attempt to pack Parliament, and to the death of Lady Jane Grey. Mention of the condemnation of Cranmer is clearly to his condemnation for treason, while angry remarks about the confiscation of the goods of those who have fled the realm presumably refer to the Western rebels rather than to religious exiles.

This pamphlet may represent the final fling of the Wyat conspirators, but it also coincided with an acrimonious debate in Parliament as to whether the Queen could designate her own successors and thus exclude Elizabeth from the succession. The author of Certeayne Questions complained that Mary was breaking the terms of her father's will; it also complained that she had not kept her promise of religious tolerance, which must surely be a reference to Gardiner's attempt in this session to revive the Heresy Laws. But apart from a bitter complaint against the blasphemy of asserting that the Bible is a source of heresy, it had little in the way of religious comment.

It seems highly likely that while this pamphlet was printed abroad, it was organised and financed from London, in all probability by Bartlet Green. Green had sent a letter to Christopher Goodman, an old Oxford friend, telling him about "certain demands or questions which were cast abroad in London". He was arrested when his letter, which included the loaded information "the Queen is not yet dead", was intercepted. In a letter to Philpot, Green wrote that he was suspected of being privy to the devising and publishing of these demands, and that this was the original reason for his imprisonment in the Fleet. He reported that he believed they could have no true witness to support this accusation, but added that he would refuse "no punishment, if they, or their consciences would judge me privy to the devising, printing and publishing of those Questions." (2)

(1) Aiiir, Aiiiv, Avr, Avir.

(2) Foxe, vol. VII, pp. 734, 735. At about this time, Goodman, who had been with Green at Easter Time, sent a list of very similar questions to (281) Calvin and Bullinger.

Three days after the ambassadors reported the dissemination of the seditious bill in favour of Elizabeth to the Emperor, a Proclamation was issued, restating the law on slander (1) and urging people to "beware and forsake this vile and uncharitable manner". But despite the proclamation, the bill writers continued upon their uncharitable way. In May the Admiral was ordered to compare the handwriting of soldiers in an attempt to discover the author of a seditious bill, and in July Richard Smith, Yeoman of the guard, was sent to the Marshalsea for spreading abroad lewd and seditious books. (2)

By now the Marshalsea was becoming something of a literary club. There, Smith would have met Thomas Mountayne, who was accused at about this time of composing a libel which may have been the very book which Smith had been dispersing. Mountayne tells the story:

"King Philip being come in to England, a certain description was made of his person, queen Mary being joined in the same, and something said of her, as well as of the Spaniards, and because I had a copy of the same, it was laid to my charge that I did make it." (3)

Four men were tried for this offence, Mountayne, James Proctor, Edmond Lawrence and Thomas Stonynge. Asked how he had come by his copy, Mountayne said he had it from Walter, Curate of St. Bride's, Fleet Street. Thomas Stonynge admitted copying it out.

The third of Mary's Parliaments, November 1554 - January 1555, preceded as it was by the arrival of Pole suitably equipped with a papal dispensation for the holders of ecclesiastical property, was characterised by a mood of pious reconciliation. But that did not stop the usual batch of seditious bills from appearing on the streets. In November, the Earl of Derby was out walking when a letter "was thrown down so adroitly in front of him that he could not help picking it up. The gist of it was that if he attended Parliament he would lose his head, and to advise him to beware of making any concessions to the Spaniards, whose object was to seize the kingdom by force, and remember that the Queen had usurped a crown to which she had no right." (4) Reporting this incident to the Emperor, the Spanish ambassador added

(1) See above p.42.

(2) A.P.C., vol.V., p. 52.

(3) N. of R., p. 187.

(4) Span. Cal., vol.XIII, p 102.

that "this so greatly irritated Parliament that measures are being taken for the punishment of slanderers".

The session passed reasonably quietly, but many members were worried about the possibility of England being drawn into war with France, a danger which the coronation of Philip might aggravate. In the middle of January, a number of M.Ps. who were dissatisfied with the answers they had been given on this question, quit the session early and returned home. Two days later, William Aston, late parson of Lee in Essex, was sent to the Tower for spreading abroad a slanderous bill against the King and Queen. (1) Possibly the bill which caused Aston's imprisonment was a comment upon the retirement of the dissenting members. Possibly, on the other hand, he was the author of the "writings found in several public places praying God to deliver Elizabeth soon from her captivity" which Renard reported to the Emperor on January 17th. (2)

With the dissolution of Parliament, there was a lull in the activities of the street writers. Mary's lying-in was expected in April and criticism was for once silenced in favour of loyal ballads which looked forward with confidence to the birth of an heir. (3) But by May joyful expectation was giving way to uncertainty and insecurity. Various rumours circulated the city - that Mary had died in childbed, that a suppositious ^{heir} was about to be foisted on the realm, that King Edward was still alive. Several of these rumours found their way into street bills. Some time during the summer, bills were on the streets claiming that Edward was alive (4) and in all probability these bills were circulating in May when the imposter Edward Featherstone was making his bid for acceptance. In the same month, the Doge and Senate were informed that many libels were being scattered around London to the dishonour of the King and of the Queen, "for the purpose of making the people rebel against their Majesties". So dangerous were these libels, that a special post had been despatched to the Emperor to inform him of them. (5) The book which caused so much alarm was probably the Dialogue, which Michiel described in a letter dated 13 May. The book, Michiel wrote, is written and printed in English,

(1) A.P.C., vol.V., p.89.

(2) Span. Cal., vol.XIII., p. 135.

(3) e.g. Nowe singe, now springe cure care is exil'd.
W. Ryddjaell, 1554.

(4) A.P.C., vol. V., pp. 221, 226, 228.

(5) Van. Cal., vol. VI., part 1, p.73.

"full of seditious and scandalous things against the Council, the Parliament, and chiefly against their Majesties' persons; and although all diligence has been used for the discovery of the authors, no light on the subject has yet been obtained, save that an Italian has been put in the Tower, he being a master for teaching the Italian tongue to Milady Elizabeth, some suspicion having been apparently entertained of him. The edition of the Dialogue was so copious, that a thousand copies have been taken to the Mayor, who, by order of their Majesties, commanded all those who had any of them to bring them to him under heavy penalties." (1)

The Italian master here referred to was probably Battista Castiglione, who was in prison again in June 1556, (2) and who was then said to have been twice before imprisoned on behalf of Elizabeth. If so, then it seems likely that the Dialogue was another pamphlet upholding the dynastic claims of Elizabeth. The ambassador reported that the Mayor had gathered in 1000 copies, a number which could have been used merely to indicate the large numbers involved, or which may imply that the Mayor moved swiftly enough to confiscate a complete edition of 1000 copies before they were dispersed.(3) But we hear nothing of any printer being tried for these Dialogues. Was this another instance of retribution by-passing the printer on it's way to the author? Or was the Mayor unable, or unwilling, to prosecute the printer? Possibly powerful interests protected whoever was involved. If the book had been printed by anyone connected with Seres's business, the weighty friendship of Cecil may have afforded protection. While it seems unlikely that Cecil would have approved of anything so provocative and illegal as hostile bills, he was unique in having links both with the household of Elizabeth and with the London printers. The Dialogue may have been the work of apprentices and journeymen, whom the Mayor did not feel it necessary to track down, but an edition of 1000 copies was an ambitious enterprise, and it is hard to imagine that it could have been completed in absolute secrecy. Once again the printer seems to have escaped unscathed from a very dangerous involvement.

Throughout the summer of 1555 lewd manuscripts appeared around the country, probably speculating about the non appearance of Mary's baby. On 20th. June, Sir George Harper and another gentleman were

(1) *ibid.*, vol. VI., part 1, p. 70.

(2) *Ven. Cal.*, vol. VI., part 1, p. 475.

(284)
 (3) *The fact that no copy seems to have survived supports this interpretation.*

sent to the Tower for airing their views on the subject in a less than decorous way.(1) But the only printed work to appear in the months following the Dialogue seems to have come into the country either from Scotland or through Newcastle. On June 29th, the Council sent thanks to the Bishop of Durham for letting them know about "a seditious book of questions in print" and for issuing a special proclamation to deal with it. (2) Maybe this was a second edition of the Certayne Questions described above; that copies should have reached Newcastle from Danzig seems not unlikely. Maybe copies of the original version, which had been suppressed but possibly not destroyed, had finally been released. If not Certayne Questions, the offensive book of June 1555 was probably along similar lines.

With the approach of the autumn session of Parliament, street bills once again proliferated. The main topics under discussion by dissidents, both inside and outside Parliament, in the autumn of 1555, were the mounting pressure to have Philip crowned, the threat that monastic property might be expropriated, and the possibility of religious exiles being penalised by the confiscation of their property. Shortly after his election in May, the new Pope, Paul IV, had issued a denunciation of the alienation of ecclesiastical property. This spread considerable alarm among the English gentry, alarm which was diligently fostered by the government's opponents. On September 16th Michiel reported to the Dage and Senate that "certain Englishmen in Italy have sent the bull concerning the alienation of the Church revenues and property, in order to alarm the people,...some of the most disaffected having disseminated it to ... create as much disturbance as possible, so to prevent the matter from going farther, it has been necessary to imprison some of them." (3) This bull must have reached London some time in August, though the news of its publication would have preceded the arrival of copies. In an attempt to smooth down the ruffled feathers of the English landowners, Pole obtained from the new Pope a confirmation of the dispensation granted by his predecessor, Julius, to the English holders of church property. This was read from St. Paul's Cross on September 1st and copies in both English and Latin were put to print. But Pole's conciliatory action did not banish the fears aroused by the Pope's provocative Bull.

(1) Ven. Cal., vol. VI., part 1, p. 120.

(2) A.P.C., vol. V., pp. 153/4.

(3) Ven. Cal., vol. VI., part 1, p.169.

Sometime in October, another pamphlet was circulating in London. In its later edition, it goes under the title of A Speciall grace, appointed to have been said after a banquet at Yorke, upō the good neues and Proclamacion thear, of the entraunce of Elizabeth (Kingston for England, 1558)

This later edition adds a preface (1) and a final thanksgiving (2) to a tirade which apparently dates from late 1555. The dating of the original is complicated by the addition of 1558 remarks within the text of the 1555 tract, so, for example, there is a complaint about the burning of Cranmer after he had recanted, and an ironic lament that Gardiner was not still alive, so as to have the opportunity to recant again. But the main thrust of the bill is an attack upon Gardiner, and other prelates who had reversed their opinions on the supremacy. "They have not stuck to enforce and procure us to a greater obedience unto a foreign Bishop (whom once yet they themselves exploded, preached, and swore out of doors)..." Since Gardiner is the main target of the author, and since he is spoken of as if he were still alive, the tract appears to have been written before November 13th, on which day Gardiner died.

It also refers to the papal bulls mentioned above ("this seditious Paul IV that now is hath sent hither his bulls and his thunderbolts"), to the fears of the gentry that property would have to be restored, to sermons in which "they have not spared openly in their sermons to slander and rail at their own late natural Princes, that noble King Henry and that vertuous King Edward", and to Bonner's Homilies, which were apparently available in the book shops at the time that this bill was composed. ("Buy them, buy those precious pamphlets I pray, they are worth the money and it were but to look on and laugh at their foolish glosses and detestable devises.") (3)

Another clue to the origin of this bill is given by Pole in a letter to Philip dated November 23rd. He complains that since the death of the Chancellor, or from the time that his malady increased, the reprobates had become more audacious, "and the bant of men of this sort and their opinions are sufficiently indicated by that notorious libel privily published by them here of late." This suggests that the

(1) air - aiiir.

(2) dvir - to the end.

(3) c v r, ciiv, bvv, biv v, ciiv.

Bonner's Homilies were dated 1 July 1555.

libel appeared between the Chancellor falling ill, and his death in the second week of November. It also hints that it might have been secretly printed. If so, the 1558 printer John Kingston may have been involved. He was investigated in 1558 for illegal printing, and as a Grocer may have had friends in Parliament, (1) The tone of the piece is entirely secular, patriotic and anticlerical, and was clearly aimed at Parliament, even if it did not emanate from Parliament.

Also connected with this session, and almost certainly produced with the encouragement of the French Ambassador, was a spate of bills warning of the horrors which would overtake England if she were foolish enough to allow Philip to be crowned. There were evidently several of these, for John Bradforth, the pamphleteer, referred some months later to "the Lamentation of Naples, the mourning of Milan, and such other which have showed you the tyranny the Spaniards have used in other countries." (2) The first of these tracts may well have been A Warning for England, conteyning the horrible practises of the King of Spain in the Kynqdom of Naples. This is a highly seditious and very persuasive little bill, much better written than the Speciall grace, which appears to have been composed in Strasburg, almost certainly by some member of the Cooke household. Cooke had returned to Strasburg from Italy in the late summer of 1555, and in September he petitioned the Council for civic rights. The council, however, took nearly a month to agree to his request. Miss Garrett suggests that, while we can only guess at the reason for the Council's caution, it was probably because of Cooke's position as Cecil's agent and as a link with Calvin's Geneva. (3) A Warning for England gives a clue to the Council's anxiety. Whoever wrote the bill had evidently been recently in Italy, for he mentions that in Italy odds are being offered on the likelihood of Philip quitting England for good once he had succeeded in being crowned. And according to Michiel, the book was believed to have come from Strasburg. As Cooke had just arrived in Strasburg from Italy it seems highly likely that this tract was the work of one of the more secular-minded and hot headed members of his household,

(1) Grafton, his old master, was M.P. for the city.

(2) The Coppye of a letter, sent by John Bradforth F i r

(3) Garrett, p.125.

and that it was addressed to the reassembling members of Parliament, among whom the Cookes had many associates. The production of such a provocative bill by one of his family would have given the Strasburg councillors ample reason to pause over Sir Anthony's application for rights. (1)

Provocative the bill certainly was, warning Englishmen that once Philip was crowned he would exercise over them the kind of tyranny he already enjoyed over the citizens of Naples. Urging his countrymen to join "not only in prayer but also in policy and power" to resist Spain, the author of the bill warned them not to be tempted by the promises of their enemies to hand over "a knife to cut your own throats and disherit your children for ever, and bring England unawares to a most shameful and perpetual captivity." This bill also issued some sinister warnings of retribution on collaborators; "Eyes see well enough, though they speak not, so that the quest shall lack no information when traitors shall be examined." The final shot is a warning that the Papal Bull against the alienation of Church property was aimed specifically at England, and that disobedience will soon carry the same punishment as heresy; "The faggots be already prepared in that they all stand already by the Pope's sentence excommunicate and accursed. Nothing wanteth but a day to kindle the fire." (2)

This last threat may indicate that the Englishmen who had a few months earlier sent the Bull to England from Italy were the very same Englishmen who had this little missive printed in Strasburg and smuggled into England, presumably along the same route as the Bull had travelled. It seems to have taken some time to reach England for on December 3rd Michiel reported its distribution in London to the Doge and Senate.

"Of late a great quantity of books printed in English have been distributed clandestinely throughout London, concerning the King individually and his mode of government, vituperating the acts of extortion and oppression exercised in his realms, principally in the Kingdom of Naples and the Milanese...the author warning the English, to whom the book is dedicated, that the like will befall them also, and that they must therefore look to it whilst there is yet time. Yesterday, on account of this book, all the city companies by order of the Lord Mayor, met separately in their respective halls to make diligent inquisition as to the place from which this book can have come,

(1) Cooke's son Richard later sat in Elizabeth's first Parliament. He also had in his service a Thomas Baxter, bookbinder. Garrett, p. 82.

(2) Aii r & v, A vii r, Aviii r.

for the purpose, if possible, of discovering its author; and orders were given for all persons having copies of the book to take them to the Lord Mayor, who will report to the Court what he shall have ascertained about it; but the book is supposed to come from Strasburg, from the English who are there, and endeavour by all means to make the people here rebel against the present government." (1)

The book clearly gave great offence, which is not surprising since it threw unpalatable doubts on the marital affections of Philip for one who "can have no issue." "Who seeth not that if he be once crowned and have his will in England he will rather dispatch her and take a younger of whom he may have children than suffer any man or woman that is not of his house and kindred to reign after him?" (2) To reward the French for their encouragement of such literature, arrangements were made for the French King's correspondence with the Turk to be published, but it was harder to track down those responsible in London. For such a large import of books to be distributed around the city, several people must have been involved, but Badoer reported on the 6th. ^{December} that "both the Lords and Commons have displayed the worst possible will in printed books, greatly to the dishonour of the King and of the Spanish nation, which causes general displeasure here." (3) Sympathy in Parliament for a book coming from Strasburg is not unexpected, especially in this session which saw organised opposition to the government, and the brief emergence of Cecil as a focus for this opposition.

During the winter of 1555/6 another batch of bills appeared, this time in connection with the Dudley conspiracy which was ripening during those winter months. The first of these may have been the "heretical and seditious writing" which caused the imprisonment of Paul Backton in the Fleet on December 17th. (4) But the sudden recurrence, in January of 1556, of bills claiming that King Edward was still alive was certainly connected with the activities of Dudley. These bills included the interesting information that the King was in France awaiting some sign from the English to come over. (5) Sometime in the following month the first edition of

(1) Ven. Cal., vol. VI., part 1, pp. 269 and 270.

(2) A Warning. A vii r.

(3) Ven. Cal., vol. VI., part 1, p. 272. (The phrase could be taken to mean society in general, rather than Parliament specifically,

(4) A.P.C., vol. V., p. 204.

(5) Ven. Cal., vol. VI., part 1, p. 324. (though a Parliamentary interpretation remains possible.)

John Bradforth's Letter appeared. This letter was addressed to the Earls of Arundel, Derby, Shrewsbury and Pembroke, and it has been suggested that it dates from May rather than February/March, since in May there was a rumour that these Earls were being canvassed for their agreement to Philip's coronation. But these four noblemen formed the nucleus of the imperialist-patriotic party which centred on Paget, and it does not seem to be necessary to suppose such a specific cause for this dedication of a pamphlet which was in fact an attack on the whole imperialist-patriotic position, especially when other evidence points to an earlier date. Bradford was heavily involved in the Dudley conspiracy and there are several suggestions in the tract that it was written on the eve of the expected insurrection. (1) It is, in effect, an open incitement to violence against the Spaniard, urging all Englishmen to unite to expel them from England. At the same time it insists that no harm should come to the Queen, and voices a useful legal argument in case of failure and retribution;

"Many of my friends have given me counsel to write my letter but not my name, for fear your Lordships would punish me with imprisonment, racking, Hanging, drawing and quartering, for speaking against the King's coronation, which I think ye cannot do lawfully, for so long as he is not crowned, that man is no traitor that speaketh against his coronation." (2)

If this edition of Bradford's Letter did appear in February/March, it may be the book which was being pursued by the Council in the first week of March. On the 1st they sent a letter to George Seintpoll, "praying him to make search for one Ritheby, who hath spread abroad a seditious book", and on the 8th they sent thanks to the Lord Chamberlain and to Lord Montague for their efforts in searching out of the authors of certain seditious bills lately being cast abroad in sundry parts of the court of Sussex; desiring them to continue their diligence in that behalf. (3)

With the failure of the Dudley conspiracy, seditious bill-writing subsided in London, and later fulminations by the government, such as the Proclamation of 6 June 1558, were directed against

(1) Bradford had been a servant of Sir Thomas Skipwith, father-in-law of Sir Peter Carew.

(2) C vii v.

(3) A.P.C., vol. V, pp. 243, 245.

the increasingly radical tracts being put out by the protestant exiles abroad. But March 1557 saw a flurry of activity to greet the arrival of Philip, who was expected any day. On 8th. March, Gilbert Gennyns of Ware was examined concerning a lewd seditious book which he confessed to have written. He was sent to the Marshalsea and within a few days his comrades in the enterprise had been rounded up. Thomas Penny, servant to Sir Walter Mildmay, was arrested for spreading the book around London, and Mildmay was directed to "search in his chamber, chests and other places for such books, letters and writings as he shall find which concern not his account or service, and to send the same also hither." Penny, Gennyns, Copstock and Burton were all accused of writing books, and it seems that they had been engaged in copying out a revised edition of Bradford's letter to the Earls, which they issued under the title The copie of John Brodfords letter to the Queene and to the Lordes and estates of the realme of England. (1)

Copstock was indicted for the offence, but the other three were bound in £40-£100 to keep the peace and to appear when called. However, at some time they must have been imprisoned (perhaps they could not find the bail) for on 16 December 1558 we hear of Burton and Gennyns "remaining in the Counters for the like cause that the other two do". They were released upon sureties.(2)

The four who were engaged in writing out this updated letter of Bradford's were all fervent protestants, and were later connected with the puritan movement. The edition of Bradford's letter which they produced was a protestant version, Bradford himself having been at pains in the first edition to establish his doctrinal orthodoxy and to distinguish between his patriotic complaint and the religious complaints of earlier pamphleteers. It may be, therefore, that Bradford was unaware of the new version of his tract being planned by Gennyns and company. On the other hand, Bradford was at this time involved in the conspiracy to seize Scarborough Castle, which came to a head on April 27th and resulted in his execution. It is possible that Bradford was in touch with the London copiers and knew of their activities, even that he himself asked them to bring out his book again as a suitable rallying call with which to launch another rebellion, his initial attempt with the Dudley plot having

(1) D.M.Loades, The Authorship and Publication of "The Copie of a letter...." in I.C.S.S., vol.111., (1959-63) p. 1555.

(2) A.P.C., vol. VI., pp. 62, 63, 76, vol. VII., p. 20.

failed. The interest which the Council showed in Penny's correspondence suggests that there was more to this episode than just seditious bill writing. If Bradford was behind this edition of his letter it is possible that he did not know of the protestant gloss his work was being given. But it may be that he was indifferent to such niceties, as long as the work proved an effective piece of propaganda against the Spaniards. No attempt seems to have been made to have this second version of Bradford's bill printed, which may reflect a tightening of government surveillance over the printers. Certainly those connected with the Company would have been treading carefully during the months when their application for a charter was being considered. (1) Apart from the Gennyns group, a further fourteen Londoners were investigated at this time for distributing illegal literature, and it may be that the government had made some inroads into the network which had distributed the bills of the past six months around London.

With the government's hold over the London book trade becoming even tighter and with penalties for seditious writings growing even fiercer, those with anti-establishment views to express turned increasingly to the stage. As early as April 1556 players in the service of Sir Francis Leake were travelling about the North playing "naughty and seditious interludes" in which unsympathetic views were expressed about the King, the Queen, and the Church. (2) *The following* year the satirical play A Sacke full of Newes was circulating the country, eluding the attempts of the authorities to suppress it. The summer of 1557 produced a crop of naughty plays, one being reported in the city in June with a religious theme, and a similar production turning up in Canterbury at the end of the month. The Council sent for the "lewd play book" used by the Canterbury players and decided that it was bad enough for the players to be proceeded against. On 11th. July, plays were forbidden altogether but in September A Sacke full of Newes was performed in London at the Boar's Head without Aldgate, and the Mayor was ordered to stop the production and confiscate the book. Once again the performance of plays was banned. (3)

(1) The Charter was granted on the 4th May.

(2) Strype, E.M., vol. 111, part 1, p. 468.

(3) A.P.C., vol. VI., pp. 119, 148, 149, 168.

Most of the illegal plays and ballads circulating under Mary, like most of the illegal bills, were essentially secular in their dissent, even if protestant elements and anti-clerical sentiments were sometimes expressed alongside the xenophobia which was the predominant mood of the time. But there were some religious bills produced under Mary, some of which probably appeared in print, despite the fact that following the revival of the heresy laws, the handling of heretical books became a burning offence. One of the first such bills to appear after Cranmer's Purgation, which as we have said marked the end of public protest in London by the Edwardian divines, was a "railing rhyme against Dr. Stokes and the Blessed Sacrament" made by John Huntingdon on November 20 1553. Huntingdon was the author of the Genealogy of Heresy which he had issued in 1540 and which Bale had replied to at tedious length. If this rhyme on the sacrament by the now converted Huntingdon was as witty as his earlier verses, the council's indignation is understandable. Huntingdon appeared before the Council on December 3rd. and made a humble submission, promising to amend "as well in doctrine as in living". He then departed for the continent, finding refuge in Strasburg. (1)

In 1554 a dissident pinned a bill against the mass on a church door at Reading, but upon examination, he confessed and recanted.(2) More heretical bills appeared at the execution of the criminal Tooley. As he stood upon the scaffold, Tooley entertained the assembled crowd by reading out several protestant statements; one was a prayer, and another was a bill written by a fellow prisoner named Thomas Harold, called Beware of Antichrist. Apparently this reading created a considerable impression, for Bonner immediately issued a proclamation listing Tooley's offences and condemning his final acts. Those involved in the drama were pursued with some determination, but before the Bishop could catch up with them, Tooley's bills had been read by numbers of people, including Bromley, John Burton, Humphrey Hord, Sergeant Smith, and the whole of Sheriff Chester's kitchen staff. By the time it reached the kitchen, the title and name had been removed for safety's sake. (3)

(1) Garrett, p. 194. Foxe, vol. VI., p. 412.

(2) Ibid., vol. VI, p. 575.

(3) Ibid., vol. VII, pp. 91-97.

Another bill writer to figure in the pages of Foxe is Richard Woodman. Woodman was apparently a dab hand at writing letters "that you let fall abroad, some at one place and some at another." He was finally arrested for pinning a letter of protest to the church door when he found that his baby had been forcibly baptised in his absence⁽¹⁾ Ralph Allerton had touched on even more sensitive topics in his bill, for he had denied transubstantiation. He was also charged with setting up on the constable's door "certain seditious letters moving and persuading thereby the people to follow his malicious disobedience; and that these his persuasions had taken effect in many." (2)

Most of these bills were circulated in manuscript, but it seems that William Sparrow was a hawk, possibly of printed ballads. Having made one submission he had then "willingly gone about divers places within the diocese of London, and sown divers heretical, erroneous and blasphemous ballets and wast apprehended and taken with the said ballets" on his person. He admitted that he sold such ballads, and said that they contained God's word. Sparrow seems to have been a cross between a missionary and a street trader, and his wares may well have been printed songs, possibly including News out of London, a ballad "which tended against the mass and against the Queen's mis-proceedings". This anti-establishment piece was sung at a wedding by the apprentice minstrel John Comet when asked to sing "some songs of scripture". Comet was imprisoned and whipped for this performance, but lived to sing again. (3)

In the field of poetry, however, the dissidents did not have it all their own way. Among the rhymes to be produced by the catholics in defence of orthodoxy was a provocative piece by John Feckenham on the subject of manastic property entitled Caveat emptor. This may have been printed, and was quoted in A Warning for England, (4) so presumably it was an effective piece of propaganda. Various epitaphs on the death of Stephen Gardiner were also printed, including Epitaphium Gardineri which Caly printed in the month of the bishop's death. This was probably the epitaph by Peter Morwyng to which the martyr Julins Palmer replied. Palmer's reply never reached the press, though

(1) Ibid., vol. VIII, p.354.

(2) Ibid., vol. VIII, pp. 412-3.

(3) Ibid., vol. VIII, pp. 435, 578.

(4) A vii v.

it was probably intended for print. Of Morwyng's verses, Foxe wrote bitterly that they were a "frivolous epitaph which was made of his death devised of a papist for a popish bishop." (1) Huggard continued to champion the catholic cause, and although most of his works now appeared in print, it is likely that he also engaged in ballad mongering. In return the protestants sang the lampoon, probably dating from Edward's day, which maintained that Huggard:

"can better skill to eat pudding and make a hose
than in Scripture either to answer or to oppose." (2)

Other literature which continued to alarm the government was concerned with magic and prophecy. Books of this kind were taken very seriously, both because of the effect they could have on the public during a crises, and for the real harm which even the most sophisticated still believed could be worked by magic. The arrest of John Dee and his associates was in connection with the plot to kill Mary, (Dee was a friend of Bartlet Green), and it was generally believed that it was possible to bring about the Queen's death by conjuration. When William Living was searched, the promotor, Cox, found a book of astronomy described as "The work of Johannes de Sacro Bosco 'de Sphaera' with figures, some round, some triangle, some quadrate". Hurrying into the street with his discovery, Cox proclaimed, "I have found him at length. It is no marvel though the Queen be sick seeing there be such conjurers in so privy corners." (3)

The last year of Mary's reign was one in which the government achieved almost total success in suppressing printed or written opposition at home, while at the same time meeting with frustrating difficulties in preventing the import of hostile books from abroad. A flurry of protest followed the loss of Calais and Guisnes, and one dissenter, called Robert Cockerell was executed by Martial Law. (4) Several people were prosecuted for seditious words, and as the year advanced, prophecies of the Queen's death became a cause of some concern.(5) But the proclamation of June which placed possessors of seditious books under Martial Law was aimed at the trade in radical tracts by Knox, Goodman, Ponet and other exiles.

(1) Foxe, vol. VII, p. 593.

(2) Ibid., vol. VII, p. 111.

(3) Ibid., vol. VIII, p. 528.

(4) Dom. Cal, Mary, vol. XII, nos. 32 and 46.

(5) See above page 62.

In the whole of this account of seditious literature under Mary the London stationers have figured only occasionally, and then in a supposititious role. There is little evidence that any of the major London printers took part in any illegal printing during these years. And yet, both the government and the city seem to have shared a belief that the stationers were in fact involved, if not in printing then in financing or distributing hostile books. In fact, someone in the London printing trade must have been printing hostile literature, for at least two of the bills discussed above were definitely printed in London, the Dialogue of May 1555, which was issued in an edition of 1000, probably from a known printing office, for the Mayor had no difficulty confiscating the edition entire, and the first edition of Bradforth's letter, from the Spring of 1556. This is a rough piece of work, and it has been suggested that it was probably the work of apprentices.(1) Apart from these hostile tracts it is almost certain that the first edition of the Grace to be said was printed in London, and John Kingston may have been responsible. He printed the second version, and was up to some illegal practices in the last years of Mary's reign.

A Warning for England, though printed abroad, appears to have been produced in close cooperation with friends at home. The Lord Mayor clearly thought that someone in the city had knowledge of the affair, for he conducted vigorous enquiries, and the Members of Parliament were apparently singularly unhelpful when it came to tracking down the culprits. And as we have seen, Certain Questions, though printed at Danzig, was commissioned by a London sailor and a "learned gentleman" from England, and possibly written by Bartlet Green. There seems little doubt that some of the slighter bills and broadsides, ballads and news letters, were printed, though copies have not survived. Unfortunately, contemporary references to these bills rarely mention whether or not they were printed. Wyatt's proclamation, for example, was widely distributed, and for the sake of the aura of authority which the printed word gave, the conspirators would probably have liked to see it in print, but whether any printed version did appear, we do not know.

(1) D.M.Loades. art. cit.

A slight doubt is cast on the suggestion that Bradford's letter was produced in London by a remark of the author that "the natural love which I bear to my native country compelled me to send over this rude letter lest I should have come too late..." (A.V. r & v) But his anxiety over whether to affix his name suggests that though he wrote it abroad, he was probably in London when it was printed.

Broadsides which are described as having been "scattered abroad" are also hard to place. If the bill was of any length and appeared in large numbers, one might presume that it was printed. But some bills were very brief, such as those which circulated when the subject of the Spanish match first arose (1) and these may have been hand written. The non survival of such bills does not necessarily argue for their never having been printed, for the laws were very clear that those finding such literature must immediately destroy it. Indeed, following the Martial Law measure of 1558, failure to do so was punishable by death. In these circumstances it is remarkable that any bills have survived.

Whether the London printers were engaged in seditious printing or not, the government consistently looked upon the printing community as a radical and potentially seditious body. In her famous proclamation of August 18 1553, the Queen complained of false fond books, ballads, rhymes, and lewd treatises "which are chiefly by the printers and stationers set out for sale of an evil zeal for lucre and covetousness of vile gain". The following year the proclamation which ordered the departure of seditious (i.e. heretical) aliens, specifically mentioned preachers, printers and booksellers as the most common professions found among such aliens. The furious Act against slanderers of 1555 imposed the loss of the right hand as punishment for those who devised, wrote, printed or set forth any matter slanderous to the King or Queen, or provoking rebellion, and added that the same punishment would be merited by anyone "procuring such literature to be printed or set forth." In the same session, the treason act made writing or printing against the title of the King or Queen high treason. The following year the Commission to search out heresies suggested that the commissioners search in printers houses or shops for heretical books. The Charter granted to the Company in 1557 declared that its main object was to deal with the seditious, heretical books, rhymes and treatises daily published by malicious persons. As the Charter had no authority outside the country, the government must have believed that these disorders had their roots among London stationers. In 1558 the Interrogatories to churchwardens enquired "whether ye know or have heard of any printers or booksellers within your parish that hath sold or now doth sell or keep any the said heretical, naughty or seditious book, books, letters or writings." (2)

(1) See above page 278.

(2) Interrogatories, A iii r.

The Martial Law proclamation went even further, speaking not only of books printed abroad and smuggled into the country, but also of some "covertly printed within this realm and cast abroad in sundry parts thereof."

Given this assumption that the printers were involved in seditious publishing, it is not surprising that the government exercised a very tight surveillance over them, and that evidence of illegal activities is almost non-existent even where strong suspicions exist. We have already discussed the purging of the Edwardian patentees, and the condition of silence which seems to have been imposed upon those who remained in the book trade. Following this initial purge, and the exile or voluntary retirement of many of the other non-patented Edwardian printers, there was a lull in the government's offensive against the printers. Then, in 1554, Gardiner took action to prevent the publication of Baldwin's Mirror for Magistrates, which contained a thinly disguised attack upon himself. This was about to issue from the press of John Wayland, but it is doubtful whether Wayland was aware of its contents. Baldwin, on the other hand, who made no secret of his authorship of this provocative piece, was clearly sailing close to the wind. Baldwin is one of those London stationers whom one suspects of illegal activities under Mary, but who successfully eludes detection. An ardent protestant and friend of John Day's, his presence in Marian London is unexpected; one would have expected to find him among the exiles. That he was still involved in propaganda is proven by his near success in bringing out the Mirror, and later in his career he was closely associated with Thomas Marsh, who printed a shortened version of the Mirror in 1559. (1) If, as seems possible, an illegal press was operating in London in the last years of Mary's reign, Baldwin and Marsh may well have been involved in it. On 13 July 1558, the Privy Council sent a letter to the Lord Mayor "to cause in as secret manner as he can forthwith, the houses of John Kingston and Thomas Marsh of London, printers, to be searched, and as well . . . all such books corruptly set forth under the name of the Bishop of Lincoln as all others as shall impugn the Catholic faith, to be seized and sent hither and to command them in the King and Queen's Majesties' names to be here tomorrow morning before the Lords." Following this summons, Marsh

(1) In 1563, Marsh commissioned a revised Chronicle from Stow, and appointed Baldwin as corrector. Baldwin died before he could start.

was bound in £100 not to print or cause to be printed any unlicensed book, and to appear the first day of the next term in the Star Chamber "to answer to that shall be objected against him, touching the printing and selling of a book of the Bishop of Lincoln." (1)

The following year, the Lord Chancellor gave judgement against both Marsh and Kingston, so it seems likely that one or other of them had printed the offending book and that both had been involved in its publication. What the book was we have no way of knowing, since it was confiscated by the Mayor, and probably came to the same end as the Dialogue. As it was described as being set forth "under the name" of Bishop White, it seems probable that it was one of those Marian productions which sought to avoid detection by the use of playful imprints. We have already mentioned Certayne Questions, which was ironically ascribed to Miles Huggard, a device which Huggard indignantly described in his Displaying of the Protestants. Another false ascription occurred in 1555 when the Supplicatyon to the Quenes Maiestie appeared with Cawood's colophon, although it was in fact printed either at Strasburg or Zurich.

The judgement of the Lord Chancellor appears to prove that Marsh and Kingston were engaged in illegal printing at the end of Mary's reign. They may have been those responsible for the books "covertly printed within this realm" which prompted the Proclamation of 6th. June. If so, I would suggest that Baldwin probably made a third. Another possible in our search for seditious stationers is mentioned by Harbison as "a French bookseller who was close to Renard's household" and who was one of Noailles's informers. (2)

This could have been Thomas Gaultier, the Edwardian patentee who stopped printing on the accession of Mary, though there is no evidence to prove it. It is likely that Noailles had more than one associate among the stationers. Lack of money or influence forced the French ambassador to resort to various underground methods, and he certainly appreciated and encouraged hostile propaganda. One of his associates was Sir Peter Carew, who had himself been in trouble under Henry, apparently for resorting to seditious bills to further his political aims. (3) It was anger at Noailles's involvement in

(1) A.P.C., vol. VI., p. 346.

(2) E.H. Harbison, 'French Intrigue at the Court of Queen Mary' in American Historical Review, vol. XLV, (1940,) p. 533.

(3) See also Carew's links with Bradforth, above page 290.

sedition propaganda which led the government to publish his master's dealings with the Turk.

Apart from the activities of this small handful of printers, the threat to the government from home printed tracts was relatively slight. But as Mary's reign progressed, the government became increasingly involved in the seemingly impossible task of stemming the tide of hostile literature which was pouring into the country from abroad.

4. Sock Smuggling

It was unfortunate for Mary that among those who took the opportunity offered them to leave the country for conscience's sake were printers like Singleton, Scolcker, van der Erve and Mierdman. They were soon joined on the continent by many of the most able protestant controversialists, including Ponet, Turner, Bale, Goodman and Knox. Strype describes how "many of these being thus safely settled abroad in Protestant towns and cities in Germany, Switzerland or else where, did spend their time in writing of books and letters, to the use and benefit of those good people that they had left behind, to exhort them to steadfastness and patience." (1) Soon, from the offices of Oporinus at Basle, of van der Erve at Emden, of Badius, Crespin, Poullain and Rebul at Geneva, of Wendelin Rihel at Strasburg and Christopher Froschauer at Zurich, in short from every city that gave a welcome to English refugees, as well as from the old centres of English propaganda at Antwerp and Wesel, books began to pour into England. They covered the whole range of religious literature which had been published in London under Edward and was now prohibited. Continental reformers like Luther, Melancthon, Zwingli, Calvin and Osiander were published in English alongside Tyndale, Roy, Joy, Scory, Olde, Ridley, Hooper, Philpot, Goodman, Gilby, Cranmer, Becon, Turner, Traheron, Knox, and, inevitably, Bale. The writings of the exiles for the English market were swollen by texts written by the prisoners in England for the encouragement of their flock, and to clarify points of theology which had come under fire from their catholic opponents. Denied access to the pulpit or to public debate by their imprisonment, Hooper, Ridley

(1) Strype, E.M., Vol.111, Part 1, p.233.

and Cranmer devoted the whole of their energies in prison to writing on behalf of the gospel. Various methods were then used to get their manuscripts out of the country. Some were sent individually, with travellers known to sympathise with the cause; on December 11th 1554, for example, Hooper sent two books to Bullinger with an unnamed messenger, and asked that they be printed either by Froschauer or by Oporinus. (1) One of these two may have been an English version of his De vera ratione inveniendae et fugiendae falsae doctrinae, breve syntagma. This reached Basle, where it came into the hands of Foxe, but it seems that it never reached the press. (2) Bradford's prison letters also reached Foxe, being sent on to him by Grindal, but again they did not achieve a printed edition under Mary, though many of these prison letters which had been so assiduously collected and preserved were printed by Coverdale in the following reign.

Apart from private travellers who undertook to carry the prisoners' documents to cities of refuge in person, there also appears to have been an organisation for exporting such texts. Stephen Morris gave evidence in 1557 that William Punt, batchelor, "is and hath been a great writer of devilish and erroneous books of certain men's doings; and doth convey them over and causeth them there to be imprinted, to the great hurt of the ignorant people." On Palm Sunday, Punt had been seen in possession of a book against the Anabaptists, which he had with him on the Thames at Grays, where he had shipped a whole barrel-full of books, with the help of Robert Coles and John Ledley. (3)

Meanwhile, on the continent, the exiles were also occupied with the production of letters of encouragement, theological texts and political tracts for export to England often in reply to specific requests from the congregations at home. In January 1555 Lever told Bullinger that he had been employing much of his time "in the production of a little book in our vernacular English; it is now in the press, and God willing, will shortly be sent to England." The book in question was Lever's Right way from danger of sin and vengeance in this wicked world unto godly wealth and salvation in Christ, Geneva, 1555. Another book which was occupying the exiles the following year was the English translation of Gualter's Antichrist. Sampson informed

(1) O.L. Vol. 1. p.105

(2) Strype, E.M. Vol.111, part 1, p.283.

(3) Foxe, Vol.V111, p.384.

Bullinger that he was busy translating this book, "that the English may see an epitome of that book saluting the Pope in English," and asked if Bullinger had any other tracts which he could include in the book. (1) But on April 6, 1556, he wrote that as he was preparing to translate the book he had heard that "some other Englishman had not only undertaken the same task, but had also completed it. I think therefore that it is now either in the press or already printed." A translation appeared in print shortly after this letter, under the title A true report that Antichrist is come, where he was born, of his person, miracles, what tooles he worketh withall, and what shall be his end, translated out of Latin into English by J.O. This was printed at Emden by van der Erve, under the inventive imprint, "imprinted in Southwalk by Christopher Truthall, cum.priv.reg.1556." J.O. was presumably John Oke who was probably at Emden at this time assisting in the propaganda campaign. (2) That this book was successfully smuggled into England is evident from the fact that Thomas Green, Wayland's apprentice was found in possession of a copy. He was handed over to Dr. Story by his master, who had a patent to protect, and was severely manhandled and whipped. His arrest led to a round up of book smugglers. (3)

Apart from theological works and controversial tracts, Biblical works were also printed by the Exiles, the most notable being the Genevan Bible which was being prepared during the latter half of Mary's reign, and with the financial backing of John Bodley, began to come off the press in 1557. This found its way into England very quickly, and we have already described how William Living was found in possession of a New Testament in 1558.

The financial assistance given by John Bodley to this large undertaking must have been very welcome. In other cases it is difficult to see how the printers can have been reimbursed for their efforts. Certainly they can not have expected to make any money from tracts printed for secret distribution. Those who could afford to might pay for their copies, but many of those for whom the pamphlets were intended had little money, and it was impossible to treat such an enterprise as a commercial proposition. Thomas Green told Dr. Story that he had given the Frenchman who had sold him Antichrist "but four

(1) O.L. Vol.1. p.176

(2) Garrett, p.241.

(3) See below p.308.

pence;but I promised him that at our next meeting I would give twelve pence more". (1) As both Green and the Frenchman were arrested, it seems unlikely that the price of Green's Antichrist was ever paid. True, many of the printers who were engaged in the English propaganda campaign were wealthy and influential protestants, who gladly lent their presses to the exiled divines, but even so they must have received some recompense, if only for the paper. In fact it appears that,as with the exiled press under Henry, the Marian campaign was being financed by wealthy merchants; names such as Burcher, Chambers, Abel, Bodley, and Milles constantly recur in the letters of the exiles, in the capacity both as financiers and as couriers. Foreign reformers like Bullinger helped all they could, and the exiles channelled any resources they had into the war of words. The interesting question of John Ponet's episcopal treasure, which appears to have gone with him into exile, only to be lost in a fire at his home in Strasburg, may offer another clue to the financing of the campaign. Ponet was one of the most able of protestant controversialists, he had taken his hoard to Strasburg, which was the centre of the more radical political wave of propaganda, and in his house at Strasburg at the time of the fire was that other veteran of the political tract war, Sir Peter Carew. (2)

To what extent the Sustainers, that group of wealthy noble-men and merchants who protected the interests, financial and otherwise, of the prisoners and exiled protestants, were directly involved in the printing campaign is hard to ascertain. Their main concern appears to have been the day to day support of the exiles and the education of the students, but it is likely that some of their money went towards the publication of protestant books. Some of these merchants, notably Chambers and Burcher, had personal links with continental printing houses. In general, it seems that the pamphlet campaign was financed on an ad hoc basis; for example, the money which was backing the Strasburg tracts was probably from a different source from that which was funding van der Erve's press in Emden. That does not mean that the two were working in complete isolation, but that they tended to draw on different groups of exiles and friends for support. The root of Mary's problem lay in the fact that

(1) Foxe, vol. VIII., p. 522.

(2) Garrett, p. 256.

so many of the exiles had a keen appreciation of the value of printed propaganda, and had wide experience both under Henry and Edward in the writing and distributing of such propaganda. In England the old network of Lollard colporteurs and Lutheran merchants still existed for the channelling of books and money to and from the continent, but the trade did not hang on one organisation, one method of financing, or one smuggling route. Unlike the Caly enterprise under Edward, there was no single conspiracy at which the authorities could strike, thus ending the trade for good. Rather, there was a general purpose among the exiled divines, their hosts, printers and backers, to do all within their power to ensure that their flocks in England were not deprived of spiritual food and direction, and that they were properly warned of the dangers of popery.

But if the reformers tended to rely on sympathetic merchants and aristocrats to finance their ventures, it was to the other end of the social scale that they turned when it came to smuggling the books back into England. Few of those listed by Foxe as having been arrested for book smuggling had distinguished themselves in any other sphere. Chosen for their obscurity, many of them must have functioned undetected throughout Mary's reign, and have left no record of their activities. Nevertheless, Mary's government did have a number of successes in its war against the smugglers, and when works of a particularly offensive political tone appeared, it could move with considerable efficiency against those responsible. The first success of the authorities was the round up in 1554 of the Day - Singleton - Scoloker organisation. (1) Spurred on by books which "nipped a great number so near", the Council apprehended Day and his associates somewhere in Norfolk, and followed this with a round up of up to sixty Londoners, "as well householders as servants and apprentices". Among those arrested were several merchants, whose role in the enterprise must have been the traditional one of financing the presses and offering to those engaged in the trade the facilities and protection of their trading arrangements. We hear of Master Brown, a goldsmith, Master Spark, a draper, Master Beston, a merchant. Arrests continued for a fortnight, and as late as the 25th November, the Council was investigating five suspects concerning the conveying of lewd books. (2) The central role played by the Council in rounding up this organisation

(1) See above page 232.

(2) A.P.C., vol. V., pp. 84/5.

suggests that the printing of the pamphlets was being treated as a political offence rather than as a manifestation of heretical opinions. It was certainly a very successful operation, and the Council may have hoped that it had put an end to the import of dissenting literature.

Another method of dealing with the pamphleteers was to cut off their funds from home, and this was a policy which commended itself as strongly to the government as it alarmed the exiles. When the printer's son John Banks wrote suggesting the publication of Lady Jane Grey's last statements, literature which offered ideal propaganda material but which would certainly have been deemed seditious by the authorities in view of the circumstances of Lady Jane's death, Haddon warned Bullinger that the publication of the documents would greatly increase the risk the exiles already ran of the confiscation of all their property, "to say nothing of the certain risk and peril which would hang over others". Banks himself agreed that it was the production of certain pamphlets that had prompted efforts being made at home to deprive the exiles of "the liberality of those from whom we were expecting the necessary means of subsistence." (1)

The following year the question of confiscation again arose, and the opposition within Parliament to any such move centred around the enigmatic figure of Cecil, who was so intimately concerned in the matter that a meeting of those members who opposed the measure took place in his own house. (2)

The concern felt by Haddon over the publication of the Lady Jane documents is interesting, for he clearly expected it to cause a much harsher reaction at home than the many religious and theological tracts which were being sent into England. And he was evidently right in fearing that the government would view such a production as further proof that protestants were by their very nature seditious. If David Whitehead is to be believed, it was the production of just such a book, Knox's Doctrine of the Mass, which precipitated the first executions in London. Writing to Calvin in Frankfort on September 20th 1555, eight months after the burning of Rogers, Whitehead explained why Knox had been expelled from the city.

(1) O.L., vol. 1., p. 292, p.306, Bank's letter was dated December. 1554.

(2) C. Read, Mr Secretary Cecil and Queen Elizabeth, (1955) pp107-113

"Knox had published a certain book, which they perceived would supply their enemies with just ground for overturning the whole church. For there were interspersed in this publication, atrocious and horrible calumnies against the queen of England, whom Knox called at one time the Wicked Mary, at another time a monster. And he exasperated King Philip also by language not much less violent... When the magistrate was made acquainted with the case, and had also discovered that the emperor was defamed in that pamphlet (he ordered Knox to leave). This we can assure you that the outrageous pamphlet of Knox's added much oil to the flame of persecution in England. For before the publication of that book, not one of our brethren had suffered death, but as soon as it came forth, we doubt not but that you are well aware of the number of excellent men who have perished in the flames, to say nothing of how many other godly men besides have been exposed to the risk of all their property and even life itself, upon the sole ground of either having had this book in their possession or having read it." (1)

Another political pamphlet which received the blame for a good deal of persecution was the Warning for England, described above. Complaining about the effects of the Proclamation against heretical books of 1555 "whereby not only much godly edification was hindered, but also great peril grew among the people", (2) Foxe put the blame on the Warning. It seems certain that he was mistaken in this, for the Warning appears not to have come out until November, and the proclamation appeared in the previous June. Even if November is too late a date for the publication of the Warning (3) it seems impossible that it can have been on the streets in time to precipitate the Proclamation. By the time the pamphlet was written it was evident to the author that Mary could have no children, and yet while sceptics certainly raised their eyebrows at the delay in Mary's delivery, the hope of issue had certainly not been abandoned by June. Indeed preparations for the birth were not finally shelved until the beginning of August. Foxe was undoubtedly correct in believing that the Proclamation was prompted by a particularly unpalatable tract, but a more probable candidate for this honour is the Dialogue, which appeared in May and contained "seditious and scandalous things against the Council, the Parliament and chiefly against their Majesties persons." If not the Dialogue, then several foreign productions

(1) D.L., Vol.1, p.760.

(2) Foxe, Vol.VII., p.127

(3) See above p. 288.

suggest themselves as possible goads; indeed, the enquiries of the Mayor hint that the offending publication may have been one of the imported books. Summoning the wardens of every Company, he demanded whether they had seen or heard of any such books, if so, where, "whom they know to have lately come from beyond the sea, especially from Zurich, Strasburg, Frankfort, Wesel, Emden and Duisberg, whom they know or vehemently suspect to be common carriers of letters or money thither from hence", and they were ordered to hand in to the Mayor all seditious (i.e. seditious or heretical) books that came their way. Among books coming into London in the late Spring of 1555 were Turner's New booke of spirituall physik, printed by van der Erve in March and probably in London by May, and The Supplicacyo to the Quenes Maiestie, playfully ascribed to Cawood, and issued by Rihel in Strasburg at about the same time as Turner's work. Either of these could have roused the government sufficiently to claim responsibility for the June proclamation. As for the Warning, it may well have been responsible for another piece of hostile legislation, the Statute 2 and 3 Philip and Mary continuing, among other things, the provision of 1 and 2 Philip and Mary cap. 3, that those who wrote seditious words should lose their right hand.

Despite the harsh penalties laid down for seditious and heretical writing in treason and heresy laws, tracts continued to pour into England. Worse, the political content of those tracts became increasingly radical. The publication at Strasburg in 1556 of John Ponet's Short Treatise of Politic Power heralded a new development in the long association between heresy and sedition. Developing ideas found in the works of Pole and Starkey, Ponet put forward the idea of justifiable tyrannicide. Ponet himself had been implicated in the Dudley conspiracy and his work represents as much a justification for past actions as an incitement to future violence. But the fact that he was prepared to dabble in practical as well as theoretical treason made his words doubly dangerous. His book, which was not the first Marian tract to advocate violence, was a threat to the Marian government because it was a serious attempt to justify such action. It was followed by How Superior Powers ought to be obeyed of their subjects by Christopher Goodman, the correspondent to whom Bartlet Green had written that the Queen was not yet dead, and by Knox's Appellation, both of which developed the idea of the obligation which rested upon the nobles and even the commons to rebel against an ungodly prince.

In an attempt to put a stop to the traffic in such books, the authorities, both lay and ecclesiastical rounded up every possible suspect. Foxe tells us of the adventures of Thomas Horton, Robert Coles, John Ledley, William Barrege, Thomas Sprat, Richard Hedley, who had links with Ipswich, an old centre of protestant polemic, and Thomas Bryce, who escaped with a bag of books. In 1557, a considerable success was scored when Bonner arrested a young man for importing books bought from John Rawlins in Antwerp. Rawlins was also arrested and Antwerp closed to the smugglers. This was an important breakthrough as Antwerp was the major staging post for all cargoes coming into England from the continent. (1) This success was achieved by the church authorities, but the prosecution of George "Trudge-over-the-world" Eagles was on the basis of seditious activities, and he was eventually executed for treason. Whether he had been involved in the book trade or not, we do not know; it seems more likely that his offence was assembling crowds of people in remote rural spots, rather along the lines of John the Baptist. Such assemblies were always viewed with intense suspicion by governments on the look out for uprisings.

Another success for the ecclesiastical authorities occurred in 1558, when Thomas Green fell into the hands of Dr. Story on account of his book Antichrist. (2) A Frenchman, from whom Green had obtained the book, was also apprehended, and between them they gave the authorities enough information to cause the arrest of Elizabeth Young. This arrest led in turn to the discovery of a sack full of books at the house of an old man called Dixon living in Birchin Lane. Elizabeth was interrogated at length and threatened with torture in the hopes of getting more information from her, but despite the discovery of this smuggling ring, books still found their way into the country. In 1558, William Living, who dwelt in Shoe Lane in the heart of the community of foreign book workers, was found in possession of a Geneva New Testament, and his neighbour John Lithall had a book "against the regiment of women" which the Chancellor said could have hanged him. (3) Significantly, Lithall's neighbours intervened to prevent him being harassed further. It is clear that one of the major factors preventing the government from getting to grips with

(1) A.P.C., vol. VI., pp. 124/5.

(2) Foxe, vol. VIII., p. 521, 536

(3) Foxe, vol. VIII., p. 534.

the problem of illicit books was the lack of sympathy with which the public regarded their policies by 1558. By 1558, it seems that Bonner at least was becoming increasingly weary of the battle against the hydra of imported propaganda. He left the investigation into Elizabeth Young and her friends to his energetic colleague, Dr. Story, and seems to have been less and less inclined to act against colporteurs. A similar weariness can be detected behind the brief and ferocious Proclamation of 1558, making possession of heretical or seditious books punishable under Martial Law as acts of rebellion.

As with the printing of seditious tracts, certain London stationers were suspected of being involved in the trade in imported polemic. As we have seen, the heresy commissioners were advised to search their premises for heretical and seditious books and writings, and in 1558, the Interrogatories to Church Wardens again suggested that printers and booksellers might be selling or keeping illegal books. The suspicions of the government were probably well founded. The London printing community still had within its ranks many experienced and enthusiastic propagandists. By the end of the reign, Seres, Baldwin, Jugge, Grafton, Day, Singleton, Whitchurch and Wolf were all living in London and working in the book trade in various non-printing capacities. Several of these printers had been abroad themselves and had visited the centres where the exile propaganda was being produced. Others, who had not themselves been over the sea, had partners or even relatives abroad. Nicholas Purfoot, John Banks and John Jugge were all on the continent at this time. There can have been few London stationers who did not number among the exiles a partner, neighbour, relative, friend, or patron, and exiles like Bale, Ponet and Choke must have left friends behind in the printing community. But however strong the government's suspicions of the stationers, they were unable to find any evidence of misdoings. Even after the Incorporation of the Stationers' Company had invested the master and wardens with powers of search and arrest, no information concerning the handling of illegal books was forthcoming from the stationers. After the arrest of Day, Singleton and Tiler in 1554 no stationer was arrested for dealing in such literature, with the exception of the two apprentices, Thomas Green and John Beane, troubled over the book Antichrist, and Richard Waterson, a stationer in Thomas Duxwell's office, who was arrested for supplying a Bible and service book to William Gie. Waterson and Gie were whipped upon the cross at Bridewell, after Waterson had refused to pay a fine, and the bookbinder Spilman, who had bound the book, was sent to the

Lollards' Tower, but escaped. (1) The only other printer to come under suspicion was apparently the Queen's own printer, John Cawood. On 12 September 1557 the Council sent a letter to Mr. Hussey and Mr. Argall "to repair to the house of John Cawood the printer in London and to make search for all manner of writings evidences etc."

(2) The mention of "writings and evidences" rather than books suggests that the Council was looking for letters, possibly from the exiles. Possibly Cawood was suspected of knowing something about the smuggling trade, and there seems no doubt that, while the import of books was not carried out by members of the book trade, several of them must have known something of the activities of the colporteurs. But whatever information they had they were prevented from passing on to the government, either by religious sympathy with those involved, or out of sentiments of trade solidarity. If the London stationers had been fully behind the government in its campaign against book smuggling it must have improved its chances at least of preventing the distribution of these books once they reached London.

Here once again the unpopularity of Mary's policies, and the growing realisation that her regime was not to be permanent, undermined the otherwise efficient campaign to stamp out illegal literature. Mary's ministers were not ignorant of the dangers of hostile propaganda, nor were they inactive in tracking down those responsible for it. But the establishment on the continent of such a large body of exiles, containing so many practised pamphleteers, doomed any attempt to stamp out imported polemics to failure. It is not necessary to postulate any master-mind at work behind this campaign of protestant literature; indeed it was the very disparate nature of the business that made it impossible to stem the tide, however many arrests were made. But if Mary was unable to solve the problem of imported literature, a failure which had already met her father's efforts and was later to anger her sister in the face of catholic propaganda, she was certainly successful in controlling the press at home. Very little in the way of hostile literature was printed in London during her reign, and if little appeared on the streets in support of her policies at least the street literature of the previous reign was largely silenced. Meanwhile the stationers had their peace and waited for better times to come. The restraints of Mary's reign

(1) Foxe, Vol. VIII, p. 724.

(2) A.P.C. Vol. VI p. 172.

put a temporary curb on their activities, but they suffered no long term damage. The accession of Elizabeth was greeted by an immediate return to protestant literature and to the levels of activity experienced under Edward. (1) Under Mary, as far as we can tell, they eschewed all religious productions, and kept what information came their way strictly to themselves. Their silence and apparent good behaviour is the extent, and also the limit of Mary's success.

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(1) See App. III

Chapter III

Patrons and Censors.

The first generation to face the challenge which the printing press offered to the established leaders of society was the generation of More, Tunstall and Fisher. Inheriting the humanist enthusiasm for the press which had produced in Lady Margaret Beaufort and her friends the most significant patrons of the early printers, More and his associates were quick to appreciate and exploit the evangelical and educational potential of printing. (1) But with the influx of Lutheran literature in the twenties, it became clear to More and Tunstall that a popular discussion of theological questions which spread beyond the confines of that group of educated and identifiable laymen and clerics which had traditionally guided the intellectual life of the nation, held serious dangers. The advent of printed controversial tracts, and even more of overtly Lutheran translations of the Scriptures, held the threat of a spiritual democracy which, by undermining the role of the church as the channel of grace and guardian of truth, threatened both ecclesiastical authority and doctrinal purity. In the defence of orthodoxy, More and Tunstall became both patrons and censors of the press. The decisive weapon in this battle was no longer authority, but persuasion, and this was a development which was welcomed by the majority of humanists. More and Fisher, urged on by Tunstall, entered the lists as the champions of orthodoxy, and employed the best of their persuasive powers to convince the reading public of the rightness of their cause. But while More the propagandist kept the presses of Bertholet and Rastell busy with his work, as censors he and Tunstall were doing their utmost to prevent the works of their Lutheran adversaries from reaching that same public. The tension between the optimistic view of the effects of printing adopted by most of those who shared the evangelical lay piety and educational enthusiasm of Erasmus and his group, and the pessimistic attitudes of those whose main concern was the maintenance of a doctrinal orthodoxy grounded in ecclesiastical authority, a tension which More himself exemplified, was to produce under Mary and Edward the most vivid contrast in the attitudes of the establishment towards the printers.

The challenge to its leadership which the indiscriminate dissemination of books presented to the church might have been equally dangerous to the crown had it not been for the brilliant management of Thomas

(1) J.K. McConica, English Humanists and Reformation Politics, Oxford, 1965, gives a detailed account of the publications of humanist scholars and patrons.

Cromwell. Cromwell was quick to appreciate that the leadership of society had fallen to those with the power to persuade, and saw to it that such men were recruited to the King's service. In the course of his campaign, first over the Divorce and later for the Royal Supremacy, he became the most important patron the printing community had yet had, the stationers who benefited from his patronage including Berthelet, Grafton, Whitchurch, Regnault, Nicholson, Godfray, Marler and Marshall. Apart from direct commissions, and the financial aid which we know that he gave to the Bible printers, Cromwell also made extensive use of licenses and patents in his dealings with the printers. Bible licenses were given to Nicholson, Berthelet, Marler, Grafton and Whitchurch, and unofficial license was also granted to both Marshall and Wayland for their issues of the Primer. Such licenses were particularly useful, for they offered financial protection to trusted printers to produce works which Cromwell wished to encourage. The exclusive nature of the patents also made them valuable tools in the construction of religious uniformity. (1)

It was in his attitude towards the printing of the Great Bible that Cromwell showed most clearly his optimistic outlook on the effects of a spread of literacy and books among the general public. Like Cranmer, he appears to have been convinced that the wider reading of the Bible could not fail to have a beneficial effect upon both the spiritual and political climate of the realm. An open Bible policy led naturally to a degree of tolerance being extended towards a range of scriptural aids and commentaries which would not have been acceptable to those whose primary concern was with doctrinal purity. While Cromwell governed the printers were not subjected to a strict censorship of religious books; on the contrary, Cromwell was actively encouraging several of the most vehement protestant propagandists.

But if the secretary did nothing to protect the ecclesiastical authorities from the challenge of the press, challenges to the King, or printed criticisms of his actions, were not to be tolerated. In the secular sphere Cromwell brought his influence to bear upon the printers as a censor as well as a patron. On the one hand he employed both printers and scholars sympathetic to the King's cause in his propaganda campaign. On the other he exercised a strict control over the publication of any hostile or critical books or bills. The efficiency of his

(1) See above, pp.105-108.

censorship must have owed much to his close personal links with the printers, and his understanding of the workings of the press. But the main thrust of his policy towards books lay in the direction of encouraging the production of royalist and reforming literature, suppression of hostile publications being an auxiliary to this central tactic.

With the fall of Cromwell the leading role in the patronage of letters fell once again to the royal ladies. (1) In particular, Queen Catherine Parr not only collected a number of brilliant scholars together to staff the royal nursery, but also extended her patronage to the printing trade. She herself published two devotional treatises, Prayers or medytacions, wherein the mynd is stirred, paciently to suffre all afflictions here, which was printed in two editions in 1545 by Berthelet, and The lamentacion of a sinner, which Whitchurch issued in 1547. (2) Apart from Berthelet, the King's printer, and Whitchurch, who had close links with Queen Catherine's court and was closely associated in the translation of Erasmus's Paraphrases which the Queen undertook, (3) we know of at least one other printer who enjoyed Catherine's patronage. In 1545 Thomas Raynald issued a revised and illustrated version of Roesslin's De partu hominis, which had been translated a few years earlier, probably at Raynald's request, and first published by him in 1540. Raynald was an educated man, possibly himself a doctor, and he dedicated his new edition, entitled The byrth of mankynde, the Womans booke, to the Queen. (4) Raynald appears to have held reforming views, and may have had personal connections with the court. Until 1540 his apprentice had been John Day, and it is possible that Day's association with reforming scholars began while he was in Raynald's household. (5)

Among the scholars assembled at the court by Queen Catherine it seems clear that an optimistic view of the effects of theological debate prevailed, and books of doubtful orthodoxy were circulated and discussed in her household. The King, on the other hand, despite his espousal under the persuasions of Cromwell and Cranmer of an open Bible policy, remained deeply suspicious of the effects of popular controversy, and resentful of any discussion which hinted at imperfections in the religious settlement which he had established. For Henry, doctrinal truth proceeded

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- (1) McConica has pointed out the tendency of Erasmian humanism to be adopted by feminine circles. (op. cit. pp.7-9) In England Lady Margaret's role as patron of pietistic humanism was inherited both by Catherine of Aragon and the Princess Mary, and by Anne Boleyn, whose youth had been spent in the circles of Margaret of Navarre. (see above, p. 105.)
 - (2) McConica, op. cit., pp. 228,229.
 - (3) see below, p. 325.
 - (4) S.T.C. 21154
 - (5) Sir D'Arcy Power, 'The Birth of Mankind or the Woman's Book, a Bibliographical Study', in The Library, 4th series, vol.VIII (1927) (314)

not from scholarly debate but from Royal Pronouncement, and this authoritarian view of orthodoxy was reflected in the King's tendency to revert to strict censorship and the suppression of debate whenever the diplomatic scene made it safe to do so. This difference in attitude caused near disaster for the Queen in 1546.

Against this tendency, and in defence of the vernacular Bible, stood Cranmer. However much the Archbishop's discretion may have served to cloak his activities in the pursuit of Reform, there seems little doubt that the preservation of the open Bible in the years following Cromwell's fall was due to Cranmer's influence. And besides ensuring that London stationers could continue to print and sell English Bibles, he also carried on Cromwell's method of using printing patents and licenses to enforce uniformity and reform. The 1544 patent granting a monopoly in the production of Prayer Books to Grafton and Whitchurch states clearly that it is granted for purposes other than the protection of the printers' investment.⁽¹⁾ Apart from the additional commercial aim of securing for English tradesmen an area of the market habitually monopolised by foreigners, the patent gives as its purpose the prevention of Papalist propaganda, which would otherwise continue to appear in Prayer Books. The 1545 patent giving Grafton sole rights in the Henrician Primer also expressed specific, non-commercial aims, the purposes cited this time being the establishment of uniformity and the avoidance of dissention. There is no direct evidence that these patents were Cranmer's creations, but the Archbishop's close association with Whitchurch, his preoccupation with liturgical reform, and the fact that this evangelical use of patents was also to characterise his great liturgical endeavours under Edward, all point to Cranmer as the probable originator of these Henrician licenses.

The optimistic and scholarly approach which characterised Cranmer's attitude towards the press ⁽²⁾ prevented him from operating with any enthusiasm or consistency as a censor of books printed or published in England, and no printer seems to have suffered from his intervention. Cranmer's first response to works which he considered to be in error was not to suppress them but to reply to them. And this scholarly attitude was one of the strongest ties binding together that group of clerics and courtiers which came to power at the death of Henry VIII. Most notably during Somerset's term in power, but also to some extent under Northumberland, the humanist attitude towards debate prevailed over the

(1) See above, pp. 7, 8.

(2) See above, p.138.

demands of orthodoxy. Given the uncertain nature of orthodoxy during Edward's reign, such liberality was perhaps inevitable, but Edward's Council differed from Henry's not just in its tolerance of public religious debate, but even more in its deliberate use of printers and the press to further the reforming, evangelical and educational aims of Edward's court.

During Edward's reign patents were granted to as many as thirteen printers, and covered a variety of productions, most of them liturgical or devotional. The most important of these patents were those which were concerned with the supply of reformed Prayer Books, sufficient numbers of which had to be produced to make it feasible for the government to impose a legal requirement upon the churches. The choice of Grafton and Whitchurch to print these books was a natural one, since they already held the patent for Henrician Prayer Books and were both known to be sympathetic to the protestant views of which the Edwardian liturgies were the expression. As in the case of the earlier licenses it is clear that the privileges granted to this partnership were not essentially commercial patents, but rather commissions issued to the printers to act as crown agents for the production and supply of as many service books as might be needed by the government. An interesting license issued to Grafton and Whitchurch on the 18th December 1548 shows that the difficulties of supplying the nation had been discussed with the printers, and that it was understood to be a task outside the sphere of normal printing activities;

"Edward the sixth, to all Mayors, sherriffs, bailiffs, etc.
know ye that we have authorised and appointed our well
beloved subject Edward Whitchurch, printer, and his deputy and
deputies bearers hereof in his name, not only to take up and
provide from time to time during the space of one twelve
month next ensuing the date hereof, for us and in our name
in all places within this our Realm of England as well within
the liberties and franchises as without, such and as many
printers, compositors and founders, as well householders as
prentices & journeymen as others whatsoever they be, as our
said Edward shall think mete to serve for the speedy furtherance
of our works only and no others in his office. But also to
take up and provide for us and in our name such and as much
paper, ink, presses and matrices and all other manner of things
as shall be requisite and necessary for the same office,
yielding and paying immediately for the same after our reas-
onable rates and prices, with also carriage sufficient for the
same as well by sea as land or fresh waters."

(1)

All readers of the license are urged to help in the furtherance of the King's works on pain of displeasure.

(1) Patent Roll 814, m.7. (2 Ed. VI, part VII)

This license gave practical effect to the monopoly in Prayer Book production which had already been granted to Grafton and Whitchurch in April 1547, and for the rest of Edward's reign the printers were in effect employees of the government, producing between them nine editions of the Prayer Book of 1549 and fifteen of the 1552 revision. And yet the number of Prayer Books required if the whole country were to be supplied with at least one and preferably two copies for nine thousand parishes (1) enabled the Council to grant further licenses to cover specific areas of service book production without drawing protests from the London partnership. John Oswen, whose office was conveniently situated in Worcester, was licensed to supply Prayer Books for Wales and the Marches. This arrangement helped to cut down the difficulties involved in the transport and distribution of very large numbers of books. Humphrey Powell, who had been assisted to set up business as King's printer in Dublin, was permitted, presumably for the same reasons, to print Prayer Books for sale in Ireland. The Channel Islands and French possessions were covered by a license granted to Thomas Gaultier, King's printer for the French language, to print French service books, the French being granted the privilege denied to the Welsh and Irish of having their Prayer Books printed in their native language.

The patents granted to these printers display the same combination of religious, political and commercial considerations as those Henrician licenses which were granted under the patronage of Cromwell and Cranmer. Clearly religious and political aims were paramount in the granting of the Prayer Book licenses, the main intention of which was to ensure that a sufficient number of Reformed Prayer Books were printed, by competent and sympathetic printers, at a reasonable price, and that no other liturgical works appeared. Liturgical reform and uniformity could thus both be ensured by the one device. Commercially, it was essential to grant the printers engaged on this important work some degree of protection, since their profit margin was already limited by the statutory price laid down for the sale of Prayer Books, which was deliberately set at as low a figure as possible, so that "the people shall not be at so great charge for books as in time past they have been." Whitchurch's first edition of the '49 book stipulated a price of not above two shillings unbound or 3s.4d. bound. This was raised slightly in the Proclamation to 2s. 2d. unbound, and a variety of prices bound, rising to 4s. for a paste or hide binding. But the 1552 book was again priced at 2s, unbound,

(1) This is the figure given by P. Heath in The Parish Clergy in England, 1450-1550, unpublished M.A. thesis, London, 1961, p.1. For the number of books printed, see above, p. 288, published as The English parish clergy on the eve of the Reformation, (1969).

or 2s. 6d. with the Ordinal, a reduction which reflected the general fall in the price of books. There was particular value in a royal licence to printers like Oswen and Gaultier in that it gave them the commercially valuable title of King's printer, but even so it was necessary for their investment in the costly and time consuming business of Prayer Book printing to be protected. This combination of aims is particularly clearly expressed in the patent which was granted to Oswen in January 1549;

"Edward VI, to all manner of printers, booksellers, etc. We let you wit that of our especial grace, we, tendering the godly edifying and ease of our loving subjects within our principality of Wales and Marches of the same by the advice and consent of our most dear uncle Edward, Duke of Somerset, have granted privilege and license unto our well beloved subject John Oswen of our city of Worcester printer and to his factors and assigns to print, reprint, utter and sell or cause to be printed, reprinted, uttered and sold so many of any kind of book or books which have or shall be set forth by us by the advice aforesaid for services to be used in our churches, ministration of sacraments and instruction of our said subjects as shall only suffice for the churches and our said subjects within our said principality and Marches, any other licences or privileges to the contrary notwithstanding. And also...to print, utter and sell to all person and persons of whatsoever estate, degree or condition they be, (1) all manner of books containing any story or exposition of God's holy scripture or of any part thereof being not contrary or against the same, which at any time heretofore have been or hereafter shall be made, translated or compiled by the said John Oswen or by his means and instigation, industry or procurement, and at his cost and charge...so that the true copies of any such books be first diligently seen, perused and allowed by such person or persons as we shall from time to time thereunto assign before they be put to any sale or utterance."

(2)

The patent goes on to grant Oswen a seven year monopoly in such books, "so that the same John, his factors and assigns, shall and may have the profit and advantage coming and growing of the printing and reprinting of such books in recompense and alleviation of his industry, pains and charges in that behalf to be sustained." The additional benefit to the government in issuing such patents, which is mentioned in this license, lay in the ease with which books issued under such privileges could be censored. As we have seen, by 1549 pressure was mounting for the reimposition of tighter controls over the productions of the presses, and the clause in Oswen's patent stipulating that his work must be perused by any authority to be appointed before being uttered suggests that the board of censors finally set up in the summer of 1549 was already under consideration in January of that year. (3)

(1) The wording of this clause must have been intended to set at rest fears of prosecution under the 1543 Act limiting the reading of the Scriptures. (34 & 5, Henry VIII, cap.1)

(2) Pat.Roll 808,m.14. (318) (3) See above, p.165.

The extension of Oswan's privilege to scriptural exposition places it within the wider scheme of Edwardian privileges which covered the whole range of devotional aids. Given the spontaneous and unsolicited production in the first years of Edward's reign of vast quantities of religious literature it might seem that it was unnecessary for the Council to concern itself with the spiritual needs of the Edwardian church beyond the requirements of public worship. But Cranmer and his colleagues were not content to leave the supply of books to market forces. They were concerned to ensure that all the spiritual needs of the people were met, and that a reasonable standard of uniformity, scholarship and doctrinal consent should obtain, at least in important areas of the market such as Bible printing. The patent for New Testaments issued to Richard Jugge in January 1550 explained that

"forasmuch as heretofore by the reason of the diversity in printing of the New Testament in English out of the Realm by strangers not having the knowledge of the language and orthography thereof divers great errors and faults have escaped, as well varying from the true and sincere translation that ought to be, as also in the words and orthography thereof, whereby great discommodity and variance hath and doth rise amongst our subjects to the hindrance of the good proceeding in the knowledge of the Gospel.." (1)

A steady supply of accurate New Testaments was an obvious need for a protestant church, and this patent of Jugge's was intended to supply that need. Jugge was a conscientious printer, and a scholarly man, capable of producing accurate, beautifully printed Bibles, and the Council further ensured in an order of 10 June 1552, that his productions should be sold at the reasonable price of 22 d. each. The patent granted to William Seres on 6 March 1553 was also created to meet a need, this time for Primers. The Henrician patent for Primers had been held by Richard Grafton, but as King's printer and part of the Prayer Book partnership Grafton had little time under Edward for printing Primers. To some extent the Prayer Books themselves took the place of Primers, for they contained many of the devotions which had previously been incorporated into the Primer. But it seems that many of the simpler members of the public found the Prayer Book hard to use and hankered after their Primers. There is certainly much evidence that catholic Primers were preserved and read throughout Edward's reign, and there was widespread loyalty to the devotions found in them. The problem is outlined in the patent granted to Seres for printing the reformed primer:

(1) Patent Roll 828, m.12.

"Edward the six etc. unto all printers, stationers and booksellers. We do you to understand, because it is requisite to have some form of daily prayers to be used as well by children as others privately which cannot so conveniently use the whole order prescribed in our book of common prayers to the which is ever requisite the whole book of the bible, and that our well beloved subject William Seres, of our city of London stationer and bookseller, hath prepared himself, to his great charges, to print certain sorts of a primer extracted out of our said book of Common Prayer fit to be used privately as children and divers others our subjects being not the ministers or curates of churches shall have from time to time occasion to occupy...

(there follows a grant of a six year monopoly in such primers to Seres and a strict prohibition on the printing or publishing of any other version,) ...

Provided always that the said William Seres shall, before they begin to print any of the said books, present a copy thereof to be allowed and approved either by the Lords and others of our Privy Council or by the Lord Chancellor for the time being, or by our four ordinary chaplains, or any two of them.

(1)

The patent goes on to stipulate that the price to be charged for these Primers shall be fixed "either by the said lords and others of our Privy Council, or by the Lord Chancellor, or with the advice had of the Wardens of the said occupation."

This patent of Seres's gave the government control over the content, supply and price of Primers, and for Seres it guaranteed a monopoly over a very lucrative area of publishing. John Day's patent for A.B.C.s and Catechisms was equally valuable, and provoked the tussle between Day and Wolf over the rights for the Latin versions of the catechism. In fact the patents in Primers, Catechisms and New Testaments were highly prized monopolies, and it is perhaps naive to look beyond commercial motivation to explain the stationers application for such licenses. But this is not to discount the presence of evangelical aims alongside the financial ambitions, for there is little doubt that Day, Seres and Jugge were all genuinely committed to the protestant cause.

For the government these three patents completed a deliberate policy by which Cranmer and his colleagues provided the Edwardian church with the entire range of aids; Prayer Books for public worship, Primers for private devotion, A.B.C.s and Catechisms for the education of children, and Bibles, together with works of scriptural exposition to reinforce the work of the Homilies in building a sound doctrinal foundation. By enlisting the aid of the protestant printers the Council was able to ensure that only those in sympathy with the government's policy were

(1) Patent Roll 853, m. 35. (7 Ed. VI, part III)

able to operate in the sensitive area of liturgical publication.

The purposeful nature of these eight patents suggests that they formed part of a coherent plan, and it is probable that the author of this plan was Archbishop Cranmer. Cranmer was also involved in the granting of three more Edwardian patents which were created to meet a rather different need. Among the protestant refugees who flooded into London in Edward's reign were numbers of bookmen who, despite the hospitality of the London stationers, were hampered in the practice of their crafts by the monopoly privileges of the London community. To overcome this difficulty patents were issued to three of the most influential foreign bookmen which enabled them to carry on their business and to give employment to other refugees. Walter Lynne, who was not a refugee himself, but who was an important figure in the foreign community in London and numbered many friends among the Edwardian immigrants, was granted a license in December 1547 for The Beginning and ending of all Popery, and "all other manner of books consonant to godliness, labours and expenses made or to be made in the said books by the said Walter Lynne." The seven year monopoly granted in this licence was defended with a fine of £100. Lynne was not a denizen, nor did he have any connection with the Stationers' Company, so that this licence was vital if he wished to employ foreign workers or to sell his books direct to the public. (1) Both Cranmer and Somerset were patrons of Lynne, but the moving spirit behind the granting of licences to the foreigners seems to have been Somerset. Thomas Gaultier, the King's printer in French, was a Frenchman, and Somerset sponsored his attempt to gain entry to the Stationers. This concern with the well being and economic security of the refugees was characteristic of Somerset, and it may have been his influence which gained a trading licence for Stephen Mierdman and membership of the Stationers' Company for Lynne's bookseller, John Gybkyn. As a result of these patents, Lynne, Mierdman and Gybkyn were able to carry on a flourishing trade in London with Lynne functioning as translator and publisher, Mierdman as printer and Gybkyn as bookseller. Between them they gave employment to a number of refugee journey men. (2)

Somerset's assistance to the immigrant stationers may have sprung chiefly from a charitable interest in their wellbeing, but it is clear that the Duke also had a vivid understanding of the power of printed propaganda. He had shown his appreciation of the weapons of persuasion

(1) Patent Roll 601, m. 25. For the restrictions on foreign tradesmen, see above, p.5

(2) See Appendix II.

during the Scottish campaign, when he wrote to Henry suggesting the distribution, in the wake of English devastation, of bills "purporting in the same they might thank their cardinal therefor." He enclosed a draft of his own for the King's approval.(1) The same campaign saw the deliberate introduction of large numbers of English Bibles into the Scottish Lowlands in an attempt to persuade the Scots to forsake the Pope in favour of Henry and the Gospel. During the Western Rising of 1549 Somerset was again active in encouraging the distribution of bills and Proclamations aimed at undermining the rebels, (2) and the crisis of October saw him once again appealing to the commons in bills scattered throughout London (3). This appreciation of the power of propaganda even led the Duke to appear in print himself. In 1548 his Exhortacion to unitie and peace was published in English by Grafton and in Latin by Wolf, and in 1550 he supplied an introduction to Coverdale's translation of Werdmueller's Spirituall and most precious perle.(4)

Somerset's patronage of the foreign printers and his reluctance to impose a significant degree of censorship upon the radical pamphleteers seem to have sprung as much from a deliberate wish to encourage protestant propaganda as from a humanist conviction of the benefits of sincere debate. The inclusion among his proteges of radical poets like Baldwin and George Ferrers is further evidence of this positive attitude towards religious and social controversy. That a man so sympathetic to the reforming campaign was in a position of such influence must go a long way towards explaining the great flood of protestant tracts which came off the presses in the first years of Edward's reign.

But Cranmer and Somerset were not the only members of Edward's court to give encouragement to the protestant printers. John Ponet, who had been Cranmer's chaplain, became towards the end of Edward's reign, the patron of that most prolific of reforming printers, John Day. When Day and Wolf were at loggerheads over the rights in the Latin catechism, Ponet, who was mainly responsible for the reformed catechism, backed Day. (5) It was perhaps as a result of this quarrel, which took place in September 1552, that Day obtained his patent in March, 1553. The wording of this licence suggests that

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- (1) "to the intent that your most sage and wise head may diminish, augment or annihilate the same as to your accustomed wisdom shall seem good and convenient."
 - (2) Troubles Connected, pp.16,19,23,24,41,42,etc.
 - (3) See Appendix 1, and above,p.158.
 - (4) In 1544 Seymour had published The late expedition in Scotlande (R. Wolfe, S.T.C. 22270) in an attempt to justify the campaign.
 - (5) Dom. Cal., vol. XV, no.3, p.44.

Day had himself petitioned for it as a purely commercial venture.

"Edward the sixth etc. to all manner of printers, booksellers and other our officers etc..We do you to understand that of our grace especial We have granted and given privilege and licence to our well beloved subject, John Day, of our city of London printer, unto his factors and assigns, to print or cause to be printed as well a catechism in English which we have caused to be set forth for the better instruction of youth to be taught in English schools, having thereunto annexed the A B C with the brief catechism already printed, any other privilege and license to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding, and also we give like privilege and license to the said John Day, his factors and assigns, to have the printing and reprinting of all such works and books devised and compiled by the right reverend father in God, John, now bishop of Winton, or by Thomas Becon, professor of divinity, as hereafter shall be at his costs and charges and by his procurement set forth and made, so that no such books nor any part of them be in any wise repugnant to the holy scriptures, our proceedings in religion, and the laws of our Realm." (1)

The patent carries a strict prohibition on dealing in any other edition, and carries a fine of 40s. per book. The stress laid on the requirement that the books printed under this patent should be lawful may indicate that the Council was aware of Ponet's revolutionary tendencies. It certainly seems likely that Ponet knew about Day's activities during the first years of Mary's reign, for when John Rogers entrusted Day with his message to the exiles he presumed that Day was in touch with Ponet and the other leading emigres. And in fact Day does seem to have taken Rogers' message to Ponet in Strasbourg. Both Ponet and Becon were able controversialists, and Becon, in particular, was a central figure in the protestant campaign. Closely associated with them was the author and translator John Olde, who, like Becon, was a pupil of Latimer. Olde was a protege of the Duchess of Somerset and was employed by Whitchurch on the translation of Erasmus' Paraphrases. Becon, Olde and Ponet, together with Bale, whose connections with Day and Scoloker are discussed above, Hooper and Lever, were at the heart of ^{the} protestant propaganda drive, having close links both with Cranmer and the court and with radical printers like Day, Scoloker, Whitchurch and Seres.

William Seres was perhaps even more fortunate in his patrons. At some time in Edward's reign he became bookseller to William Cecil, and he continued to work for him throughout Mary's reign and into Elizabeth's. As we have mentioned above, (2) it is probable that Seres occupied a key position among the radical printers, and that he

(1) Patent Roll 854, m. 23.

(2) see above, p.195.

was involved in the distribution of illegal books under Mary. He may have come to the attention of Cecil via the patronage of the Sidney family, for when he moved into new premises in Paul's Churchyard in 1553 he adopted the sign of the Hedgehog, which was the emblem of the Sidneys. (1) But whether or not the Sidneys played some part in securing Seres' fortune, in William Cecil he had a most influential patron. As Edward's reign progressed, Cecil became increasingly involved, both as patron and censor, in the activities of the London stationers. As one of the humanist scholars associated with the court of Catherine Parr, he sponsored an edition of her Lamentacion of a sinner which was published by Whitchurch in 1547, and in 1551 he received the dedication of Ralph Robinson's translation of Utopia. In his dedicatory letter Robinson says that he has offered the work to Cecil, "knowing him to be a man not only profoundly learned and well affected towards all such as either can or will take pains in the well bestowing of that poor talent which God hath endued them with". He also hoped that Cecil's position would protect his work from "envious and malicious tongues"; after all More had been executed for refusing to obey the King, a circumstance for which Robinson apologises.(2)

As one of the leading advocates of the humanist cause at court, Cecil was carefully cultivated by scholars like Robinson, and Ascham.(3) Among the printers he was influential both as a patron, Seres in particular benefiting from his continuing support, and indeed from his passion for buying books, and as a censor. The board of censors set up by the Council in August 1549 consisted of all three secretaries, Cecil, Petre and Smith, but in practice the task seems to have fallen mainly to Cecil.(3) As censor, Cecil must have had occasion to disallow books, but no instance is recorded of him acting to suppress dissident publications. On the contrary, it may well have been his humanist approach which protected the printers from suffering any ill effects from the increased censorship of Edward's last years.(4) The exact nature of Cecil's involvement in the Marian propaganda campaign has been the subject of some speculation. While it certainly seems that Miss Garrett's view of him as the arch-conspirator in a carefully planned scheme of emigration, education and propaganda, lacks evidence (5), to dismiss entirely the idea that he was involved in assisting the Marian exiles is to go against

(1) Under Elizabeth the radical pamphleteer, Christopher Goodman, became chaplain to the Sidneys.

(2) Utopia, intro. H.G.Wells, (1908), p.5.

(3) McConica, op.cit., pp 260, 261.

(3) (4) see above, pp.165-167.

(5) Garrett, The Marian Exiles, p.16.

the strong weight of probability. (1) If, as seems likely, the Cooke family was engaged in printing and publishing hostile propaganda, and if Seres was involved in distributing it, it seems impossible that Cecil was ignorant of the fact. As the son-in-law of Cooke, patron of Seres, brother-in-law of Cheke, friend and patron of protestant divines and scholars, Edwardian licenser of the press and focus for the exiles' friends in Parliament, Cecil was almost certainly well informed about the trade in illicit books. He may not have sympathised with all that was printed, but he continued to support Seres, and was looked upon as a friend and ally by his exiled correspondents.

One of these correspondents was Catherine, the Duchess of Suffolk who had also been under Edward an important patron of the printers. The Duchess appears to have acted as an intermediary between the printing community and Queen Catherine Parr, and she was active in furthering the Queen's favourite project of the Paraphrases. She had also been associated with Cecil in sponsoring the 1547 edition of Queen Catherine's Lamentacion, which was printed "at the instant desire of the right gracious lady Catherine, Duchess of Suffolk." At the end of Henry's reign the Duchess had been one of the ladies named in connection with the prosecution of Anne Askew, who was accused of distributing protestant tracts at court.

But if the Lady Catherine was closely concerned in the publication of the English Paraphrases, the main impetus behind the preparation of the second volume appears to have come from the printer himself, (2) Edward Whitchurch. Like Grafton, Whitchurch was in origin a wealthy merchant, drawn into printing through a desire to further the cause of reform. He was on terms of some intimacy with scholars and churchmen like Cranmer, and Olde, whom he commissioned to translate the major part of the paraphrases upon the epistles, and was himself an important patron of letters, offering employment to William Baldwin in his printing office, and to Thomas Sternhold, whose metrical psalms he published. In fact the city continued to be an important source of patronage to writers and translators, the printers themselves playing an important role in commissioning new works and translations and other merchants offering their assistance to needy scholars. (3)

The Edwardian patrons of the press shared a common background of

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- (1) Conyers Read, Mr. Secretary Cecil and Queen Elizabeth (1955), seems to have been deluded by Cecil's discretion into underestimating the strength of his protestant conviction at this time.
(2) McConica, op.cit., pp. 246, 247.
(3) eg; George Taplowe, citizen of London, commissioned Robison's Utopia, and "the right worshipful Master William Webb, merchant of Salisbury" sponsored John Mardeley's efforts.

Erasmian piety and humanism. This Erasmian tradition is not sufficient in itself to account for the deliberate use made of the printers by Edward's government to supply the English church with its devotional tools. That achievement owed more to the evangelical and liturgical purposes of the Archbishop than to the influence of humanism. But the liberal and scholarly outlook of Edward's court, and of these patrons of the press, undoubtedly contributed to ^{the} Edwardian boom in protestant literature. Their enthusiasm for the press as a medium for public education and reform, and their willingness to tolerate unpalatable publications in the interests of the campaign as a whole, created under Edward an atmosphere in which the press became a medium for genuine public debate. (1) This atmosphere, and the partnership forged between the government and the patented printers, differentiated most sharply the climate in which the stationers worked before 1553 with the harsher circumstances of Mary's reign.

The accession of Mary saw a return to an orthodox, authoritarian attitude towards the printers, with the emphasis on censorship rather than patronage. Even in the secular sphere little in the nature of government sponsored propaganda appeared. This was not because Mary was inept at manipulating public opinion; on the contrary, her handling of the Wyatt rebellion showed that she had inherited her father's flair for publicity. The eloquent Guildhall speech, the decision to stay in London, the stream of proclamations denouncing Wyatt and his accomplices as traitors and heretics, offering pardon to those who surrendered, and warning of inevitable defeat and summary execution for those who persisted, these steps all helped to prevent the rebellion from spreading, and in particular to keep it out of London. At the same time the wide distribution of copies of the marriage articles served to scotch some of the wilder rumours of Spanish intentions, while in London the cultivation of anxieties about rebel discipline and the possibility of looting should Wyatt be let in encouraged the citizens to close their gates to the insurgents. (2)

The Wyatt rebellion produced one of the few pieces of government propaganda to appear in Mary's reign, John Proctor's Historie of Wyates Rebellion. This tract placed the blame for the rising at the door of

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- (1) The question of the sacrament of the altar, in particular, was treated in a number of tracts and pamphlets, and the debate was further enlarged by the appearance of foreign liturgies. For Robert Stoughton's publications in this field, see above, p.206.
nos. 399-403,
- (2) Hughes and Larkin, Vol II, pp.26-30; Queen Jane and Queen Mary, pp.40,41; Dom. Cal. Mary, vol II, no.5,6,7,8,9,27; Span. Cal., vol. XII, p.55 Ambassadors in England to the Emperor, 29th Jan.

the heretics, and although it was printed by Robert Caly and not by the Queen's printer, Cawood, it appears to be a work of official apologetic. Two other treatises on the Henrician theme of the duty of obedience appeared at the beginning of Mary's reign, Cancellor's Patha of obedience and Christopherson's Exhortation to take hede of rebellion. The former of these two came from the press of John Wayland, the latter being printed by Cawood. They obviously fall into the category of government propaganda, though it is unlikely that they were the result of direct commissions of the Cromwellian type. Like most Marian propaganda, they probably represent the independent offerings of individual supporters of the government. In the case of another tract printed by Wayland in 1555 it is perhaps possible to detect a government sponsored campaign of propaganda. The copie of a letter sent in to Scotlande of the arivall and landyngs and moste noble marryage of the moste illustre prynce Philippe...Whereunto is added a brefe overture of the legacion of Lorde cardianall Poole, was written by John Elder, a Scotsman in the service of the government. This Elder, who was known as "Redshank Scot", had sent a long account of the Scottish wars to Paget in 1545, preumably with the intent that it should be printed, if Paget considered it desirable. This earlier letter may well have been commissioned by the government to replace inaccurate accounts which had just been called in. (1) We know that he continued in government service after the death of Henry, for he received a payment of £5 from the Privy Council in 1547, and his duties evidently included pamphleteering and public relations on behalf of the crown. His Marian letter is an effective piece of propaganda, lauding the benefits which England will receive, both from the marriage and from the reconciliation, and alluding also to Mary's pregnancy. But the fact that it was printed by Wayland and not Cawood may indicate that this tract also was the result of individual zeal rather than government prompting. (2)

As we have already noted, the first two years of Mary's reign saw a flurry of loyal bills and ballads which gave voice to the popular sympathy and affection towards Mary. The first of these, which appeared shortly after Mary's accession, was William Forrest's New Ballade of

(1) L. & P., vol. XX, part 2 no. 533, p. 245.
 vol. XIX, part 1, no. 278, grant no. 71
 see above, p. 61.

(2) S.T.C. 7552. This letter is printed as Appendix X to the Camden Society edition of the Chronicle of Queen Jane and Queen Mary.

the Marigolde. In this, the poet celebrates Mary's victories over her enemies and likens her to the Blessed Virgin. (1) This comparison was taken up again in a ballad by Leonard Stopes, An Ave Maria in commendation of our Most vertuous Queene Once again, this was printed by Lant, probably in late 1553 or early 1554, for although it makes no mention of Philip, it was evidently written at a time of some unrest;

"Art thou not ashamed, thou caitiff unkind,
To whisper, to whimper, with traitorous tene,
To mutter, to murmur, with mischievous mind
Against thy so loving and gracious a Queen ?" (2)

Of these two ballads, it seems likely that at least the Forrest verses were spontaneous compositions, but the broadside productions which greeted the Spanish Marriage appear to have been sponsored by the government. One of these was the Genealogical Table issued by Cawood in 1554, and the other consisted of some celebratory verses by Jasper Heywood. Heywood's Catholic convictions make his enthusiasm for the marriage credible, but his Balade specifiengs partly the maner, partly the matter, in the most excellent meetyng and lyke marriage has more the character of a propaganda piece than of a spontaneous celebration. Heywood was employed at court in the production of plays, a post which he had also held under Edward, and the appearance in 1557 of another propaganda ballad, on the defeat of the Scarborough rebels, suggests that he may have been acting as court poet. But if his ballads were produced in an official capacity, neither of them were printed by Cawood, the 1554 ball coming from the press of William Riddael, and the Scarborough ballad from Thomas Powell's. (3)

The Queen's pregnancy produced a number of broadsides, most of them consisting of urgent prayers for her safe delivery. Several of these were printed by Cawood, (4) but the good news did evoke at least one spontaneous celebration in the Ballad of Joy, upon the publication of Queen Mary, Wife of King Philip, her being with child, which was printed by Riddael.

With the failure of the pregnancy, loyal bills ceased to appear, the only other ballad to survive from Mary's lifetime being Heywood's verses on the Scarborough episode. There was, however, one last expression of the good will and affection which had greeted Mary at her accession. In 1558 Lant printed the elegiac Epitaphe upon the death of the Quene Marie, which cost him a spell in ward, and which he hastily reissued with the addition of verses in praise of Elizabeth.

(328)

(1) Society of Antiquaries First Book of Broad sides, no. 36.

(2) Ibid., no. 35.

(3) Ibid., nos. 37, 40.

(4) eg; Bonner's Letter to the Council. Cawood.

A Godly and devout prayer for the Quenes deliveraunce Cawood.
A devout praier for the prosperous state of our soveraigne lord and lady, A short prayer for Queen Mary, by Thomas Smith, A Prayer made by D. Weston, (Cawood ?)

In its failure to generate a campaign of loyalist propaganda, Mary's government differed little from that of Edward; indeed, the total amount of political apologetic produced by Edward's council was probably even smaller than that for which the Marian regime can take credit. It was in the field of religious propaganda that the two regimes differed most significantly. In this respect, as in so many areas of policy, the year 1555 marks a watershed in Mary's reign. In the first two years following her accession Cawood's press issued a steady flow of catholic texts, and although these were not echoed by much in the way of unofficial or popular propaganda, they showed a determination on the part of the government to use whatever came to hand in support of the catholic reaction.(1) This output of government sponsored polemic declined sharply from the end of 1555, and this decline, while it ^{may} have owed something to the failure of the pregnancy, was probably in the main the result of the death in November 1555 of Stephen Gardiner.

Of all Mary's advisers, Gardiner stands out as the only one with any real grasp of the power of printed propaganda. His own lengthy career as a controversialist, both in the cause of doctrinal orthodoxy, against George Joye, Bucer and Turner, and as an advocate of the Royal Supremacy, had produced every kind of polemic, from scholarly treatises to vernacular tracts, from sermons to ballads. Like Cromwell, he had appreciated early the importance of recruiting eloquent scholars into the King's service, and Ascham's description of him as a "unique patron of letters" cannot have been entirely sycophantic. He had also proved in his capacity as ambassador that he was an able manipulator of information for diplomatic purposes, and that he was sensitive to the need to protect the King's honour from slanders circulating abroad.(2) Indeed, Gardiner was exceptionally sensitive to public opinion, and greatly resented the popular portrayal of himself as a proud, sophisticated and vengeful persecutor.

This lively awareness of popular controversies and attitudes combined in him with a lawyer's fear of change, and of the overthrow of the established order, to produce a mind at once acutely interested in and acutely suspicious of the workings of the popular press. Far from believing, with his Erasmian contemporaries, that public debate would

(1) see above, p.249.

(2) For example, during his legacy at Utrecht, he wrote home describing how he had received a report of a battle between England and France, and had spent two hours editing it "to set the matter in order to be read abroad; and we have made the title Vraye Reaporte" (Muller, p.228) On another occasion, he reacted indignantly to "a French losel, written forth in fair language of Latin, most foul matter, mixed with abominable lies of our realm." (Muller, p.240)

advance the truth, Gardiner feared that such controversy would lead to political and social chaos, and result in the loss even of that measure of truth already established. More, perhaps, than his contemporaries, he appreciated and feared the democratic tendencies of protestantism, and it was this fear which lay behind his opposition to the Vernacular Scriptures. He was keenly aware that the dispersal of the Scriptures among the laity must undermine the spiritual and intellectual leadership of the clergy, and he did not believe that it was either necessary or desirable for the ordinary layman to read the Bible. For Gardiner the study of the Bible was not the universal gateway to salvation which Cranmer believed it to be, but an intellectual pursuit which "requireth God's further gifts of erudition and learning." (1) Those who attempted it without such learning ran the risk of falling into grave error. As he told Stephen Gratwick, in reply to the accusation that he was denying prisoners access to the New Testament, "we will use you as we will use the child: for if the child will hurt himself with the knife, we will keep the knife from him. So, because you will damn your souls with the word, therefore you shall not have it." (2)

In the field of censorship, we know for certain of only one occasion when Gardiner took action to suppress a book, and that was a case which concerned his own reputation. (3) He was certainly feared and hated by the protestant pamphleteers as the instigator of the policy of persecution, and as a wily and experienced propagandist. But when it came to the suppression of heretical books he seems to have contented himself with informing the Council of any undesirable publications which came his way. This attitude was in accordance with the Henrician policy which had vested powers of censorship in the Privy Council, and although under Mary his ecclesiastical duties included investigating heretics found in possession of illegal books, he was less active than Bonner in suppressing the circulation of such books.

Gardiner's own contribution to the religious controversy of Mary's reign was confined mainly to the pulpit and to Parliament, but there is little doubt that he was the moving spirit behind much of the catholic polemic to appear in London between 1553 and 1555. For example, it was Gardiner who forced Barlow "not only barely to recant, but to compose

(1) Muller, Letters, p.164.

(2) Foxe, vol VIII, p.319.

(3) see above, p.39.

a book of recantation, which he did for fear of his life, and afterwards, when he had fled, Gardiner, or some other, published his book to be read by all." (1) As a controversialist himself, the bishop was quick to recognise the propaganda value of such a recantation. A letter written by Cardinal Pole to the Archbishop of Conza in October 1555 shows Gardiner concerning himself with the catholic campaign in the press, even during his last illness. Pole asks the Archbishop's opinion of his letter to Cranmer, to help him to make up his mind whether or not to allow it to circulate. He adds that the Chancellor, who was now on his death bed, had given orders for it to be translated into English and published. (2)

Further evidence of Gardiner's responsibility for the Catholic campaign is found in the steep decline in the publication of polemical tracts which followed his death. This is particularly noticeable in the output of John Cawood's press, which had been responsible for at least thirteen propaganda works in 1554 and fifteen in 1555. (3) In 1556 Cawood's controversial issues numbered only five, and in the following years they dropped to four and two respectively. Even Robert Caly's output was affected by the change in climate which followed Gardiner's death and the realisation that Mary was unlikely to have an heir. From about fourteen tracts to come off his press in 1555 his production fell to nine in 1556 and four in 1557 and 1558. In all, the number of religious books to be printed by the London printers, including liturgical productions, fell from about seventy-five in 1555 to about thirty-six in 1556, and the campaign never recovered from this setback. Had the bishop lived, it is likely that the attack would have been carried to the reformers far more energetically, some answer would have been found to the revulsion caused by the martyrdoms, and Cranmer's Recantation and death would have been handled with greater political finesse. His death deprived the Marian government of its only effective propagandist.

Apart from Gardiner the only Marian cleric who really understood the London populace, with its love of controversy and of colourful personalities, was Bonner. Early in his career, before such enthusiasms became unhealthy, Bonner had been a friend of Grafton and Coverdale, and an enthusiastic supporter of the vernacular Bible. (4) With the reaction of 1540 he set about the suppression of heretical literature with

(1) Strype, *E.M.*, vol. III. pt. I, p. 241. The book in question was Barlow's Dialogue describyng the orygynall ground of these Lutheran faccyons, Cawood, 1553, STC 1461.

(2) *Ven. Cal.*, vol. VI, part 1, p. 224.

(3) This number includes six editions of Bonner's Homilies.

(4) Foxe, vol V, p. 411.

considerable energy, one of his most successful prosecutions being that of William Tolwyn. Tolwyn's recantation, which contained denunciations of the heretical books found in his possession, was printed in several editions, and was popular enough to merit a reply from Bale. From this time onwards, Bonner's household seems to have become the hub of catholic controversy in London, and much of the more effective religious propaganda issued from his circle. For example, Strype describes how Miles Huggard, the most prolific and persuasive of the catholic pamphleteers, was "set on and encouraged by priests and massmongers, with whom he much consorted, and was sometimes with them at Bishop Bonner's house." (1) And under Mary the Bishop's publications for his diocese, which included Proclamations, Articles and Homilies, were the focus of considerable controversy, and drew bitter replies from the gospellers, and especially from Bonner's old adversary, John Bale. (2)

Bonner's situation, as Bishop of the diocese most infected with heresy and heretical books, obliged him to become involved in the suppression of the illicit book trade. And yet, he seems to have been a reluctant persecutor, willing to use any method, including physical violence, to obtain a recantation rather than send a man to the stake. The frustration he felt at the stubbornness of the heretics, and at the impossibility of stemming the tide of illegal books, led increasingly to outbursts of rage, and towards the end of Mary's reign he seems to have wearied of the task of hunting for heretical books, and to have been more and more inclined to leave it to his subordinates, and particularly to Dr. Story. The hostility expressed by the gospellers towards Bonner is perhaps some measure both of his popularity and of his energy in suppressing unorthodox literature.

But although Gardiner and Bonner were both active in encouraging the publication of catholic apologetics under Mary, there was no general, government sponsored drive to counter the protestant propaganda of the previous reign with a programme of catholic reeducation. This inactivity, which contrasts so sharply with the policy of Edward's Council, is reflected in the patents granted to printers under Mary. Only one Marian patent was concerned with the production of religious books, and that was John Wayland's license for Primers and prayer books, issued in October 1553 following the disgrace of Seres and the acquisition by

(1) Strype, E.M., vol. III, part 1, p.442.

(2) eg. J. Bale, A declaration of Edmonde Bonners articles concerning the cleargye of Lodon dyocese whereby that excerable Antychriste is in his righte colours reveled. Basle 1554, reprinted, Tysdale, '61 See also remarks about the Homilies in A Special Grace, above, p.286.

Wayland of Whitchurch's premisses at the Sun. Wayland's patent contains none of the specific directions or intentions found in Edwardian licences. Its wording implies a strictly commercial transaction, in which Wayland bought a monopoly of Primer production from the government;

"Mary...To all printers of books,(grants) full power,licence authority and privilege unto our well beloved subject John Wayland, citizen and Scrivener of London. That he and his assigns only, and none other person or persons, shall from henceforth have authority and liberty to print all and every such usual Primer or Manual of Prayers, by whatsoever other title the same shall or maybe called, which by us .. shall be authorised."

(1)

The letters patent granted Wayland a monopoly of such books for seven years, and forbade any other printer to print or publish any book first issued by Wayland. There are no references to the desirability of standardising prayer books, or to the need to protect the printer's investment, and in fact Wayland's monopoly was frequently infringed.(2) In 1555 Wayland printed his Uniforme and Catholyke Prymer, which carried the full text of his patent, and purported to be the Primer that was to be "only used, (all other set apart) of all the King and Queen's Majesties' loving subjects throughout all their realms and dominions". But no extra protection was offered to this Primer, and others continued to appear. The Stationers' Company made no effort to support Wayland, and despite the care which Wayland took to show his sympathy with the religious policy of the government, the Council was equally indifferent to the enforcement of this monopoly, even after its renewal in 1556.

Further evidence of the government's lack of interest in the press is to be found in the career of Robert Caly. By 1553 Caly had emerged as the one printer to see his press as a vehicle for catholic propaganda. (3) If Mary's government seriously intended to launch a campaign of Catholic reeducation on a scale large enough to cancel out the effects of six years of protestant polemic, it would find the services of a printer such as Caly indispensable. And yet, while the ecclesiastical authorities made good use of him in the pursuit of heretical Londoners, neither the church nor the state made any effort to sponsor Caly's printing activities. He received no patent of any kind, and was not even a member of the Stationers' Company, no patron coming forward to assist him in an application for membership. When he finally became free of the Stationers in 1558/9 it was in return for the large fee

(1) Uniforme and Catholyke Prymer, J. Wayland, 1555.

(2) See above, p.258.

(3) see above, p. 250.

of 8s. 4d. It is possible that Caly may have received some encouragement from Bonnar, though no evidence survives of it, but the government's indifference to his activities is in marked contrast to the help given to the protestant printers under Edward.

The only direct link between the stationers and the court under Mary was William Rastell, and it may be that Rastell's influence and patronage was responsible for several of the devotional works issued by Cawood, Caly, Tottle and others. The reappearance of works by Vives, Tunstall, More, Erasmus, Thomas a Kempis and John Fisher shows the influence of the More tradition of Catholic humanism, a tradition which, as we have seen, was strong among the law printers of the Temple area. The failure of any new champion of orthodoxy of the stature of More or Fisher to appear increased the tendency among this group to rely upon the arguments of an earlier generation. This attitude bore fruit in Rastell's edition of More's English Works, but it was an essentially scholarly tradition, ill equipped for street controversies. An increase in the proportion of controversial works to be published in Latin also reflected a return to the scholarly attitudes of an earlier age, and the influence of Pole worked against the survival of a vernacular, popular debate.⁽¹⁾ In neglecting the field of popular polemic Mary's government demonstrated that it had not understood, as More had a generation earlier, that the church could no longer demand obedience solely on the strength of ecclesiastical authority; persuasion and evangelism were also necessary.

Mary's failure to use the printing press for popular reeducation in catholic doctrine was the chief weakness of her policy towards the booktrade. Her control over the London printers was effective, and hardly anything in the way of protestant propaganda was printed in London during her reign. Some illicit tracts were got out, but the printers who had been responsible for so much polemic under Edward were almost completely silent during her reign. The difficulties she faced over the control of imported literature were not unique; the same problem was encountered under both Henry and Elizabeth whenever the community of religious exiles on the continent reached a certain size. Even the failure to fill the vacuum left by the outlawing of reforming tracts with catholic literature was not entirely the government's fault. In the absence of enthusiastic propagandists of the stamp of Bale or Becon, and with a large section of the printing trade unsympathetic to its aims, Mary's government would have needed to adopt an even more

(1) Pole's experiences in Italy had made him increasingly cautious about the effects of popular controversy. For this attitude, see Dermot Fenlon, Heresy and obedience in Tridentine Italy: Cardinal Pole and the Counter Reformation, (Cambridge, 1972,) Chapter 15.

active policy than that pursued by Edward's Council to mount an effective campaign of orthodox polemic. That the Marian regime was not in fact enthusiastic about popular persuasion was hardly surprising in view of the increasing evidence of the seditious and disruptive potential of the popular press, and of public debate of religious questions. Mary was not alone in viewing popular controversy with suspicion; Henry VIII had been equally dubious, and Elizabeth was to show no inclination to return to an Edwardian policy of free expression. Under her, printing patents moved even further from their Edwardian interpretation, and became increasingly, indeed notoriously, a purely commercial and fiscal matter. What is remarkable is not the abstention of Mary's government from popular polemic, but the involvement of Edward's in a deliberate policy of education and persuasion. In the furtherance of this policy, Somerset and Cranmer forged a unique partnership with a large and energetic section of the printing community which resulted in a torrent of devotional, liturgical and biblical works which left an indelible mark upon the religious life of the nation.

Appendix I

Bills in favour of the Duke of Somerset, scattered in London at the beginning of October, 1549, from copies surviving in the State Papers.

Most loving and true englishmen which love God and your King, (unto such do I write,) remember with yourselves your loyal obedience and be ye not caried away with the painted eloquence of a sort of crafty traitors which draw at one mark and shoot at another. Weigh their devilish policy first wheras they have like bribers undone and murdered the King's true subjects, and now, fearing that the Lord Protector, according to his promise, would have redressed things in the court of Parliament, which he shortly intends to have sit, to the intent that the poor commons might be godly saved and things well redressed, to defeat him of his said good purpose they now of mere (malice) have conspired his death, which done, they will find the means shortly after to dispatch your most noble liege lord, partly for their insatiate covertise and ambition, and partly to plant again the doctrine of the devil and antichrist of Rome. Wherefore, let not their persuasions nor their proud proclamations move your hearts anything at all, but think and know this for a surety, that in case the Lord Protector have done any thing contrary to truth and justice, without all doubt they were partakers and of counsel in the same, although now they would pluck their heads out of the rollers, and put him headlong into the briars. But if ye will diligently ponder and weigh what they be and what their accustomed conditions be also, ye shall easily perceive what they intend. And here also note how they be come up but late from the dunghill, a sort of them more mete to keep swine than to occupy the offices which they do occupy and now serve, to the utter impoverishing and undoing of all the commons of this realm. Wherefore I desire you for the tender mercy of God, give not hasty credit unto their doings or sayings, but stick fast unto your most godly and christian Prince and King, for though they traitorously call them the body of the Council yet they lack the head, then may ye call it a monstrous Council, for truly any body is nothing without the head, but the Lord shall destroy such a body at his pleasure. And as for London, called Troy Untrue, Merlin saith that xxij Aldermen of hers shall lose their heads on one day, which God grant to be shortly, Amen.

By the King's true and loving subject, to his poor, Henry A.

This bill is addressed "Read it and give it forth" and carries a note on the back, "A seditious bill found in London in Edward 6 time."

Good pæple, in the name of God and King Edward, let us rise with all our power to defend him and the Lord Protector against certain Lords and gentlemen and chief masters, which would depose the Lord Protector, and so endanger the King's royal person, because we, the poor commons, being injured by the extortious gentlemen, had our pardon this year by the mercy of the King, and the goodnes of the Lord Protector, for whom let us fight, for he loveth all just and true gentlemen, who do no extortion, and also us, the poor commonality of England.

God save the King and my Lord Protector, and all true Lords and gentlemen, and us, the poor commonality.

This bill carries a note on the back, "The Copie of a bill sowed amongst the commons.

S.P. Edward VI, 10/9, fols. 11 & 12.

Appendix II

Chronological table of foreign bookworkers in London, 1541-1560, based on the information given in E.J. Worman, Alien Members of the Book-Trade during the Tudor Period, 1906.

Abbreviations; d. denization; D. Dutch Church Register; b. admitted brother of the Stationers' Company; R.A. Returns of Aliens; * presumed present; p. present according to later assertion.

	1541	1544	1547	1549	1550	1551	1553-8	1559-60
<u>Adrian, Leonard.</u> Dutch bookbinder.	-	-	-	-	-	-	in Eng. '56	(63b.)
<u>Ae, Reinaerdt vander</u> Dutch, with Mierdman.	-	-	-	-	R.A. D.	-	-	-
<u>Arnoldt, Henry</u> Dutch printer.	-	-	48, d?	*	d? D. -R.A.	-	-	-
<u>Bernaerdt, David.</u> printer from Antwerp with T. Raynald.	-	-	-	-	D. R.A.	-	-	-
<u>Birckman, Arnold.</u> stationer of Antwerp	R.A.	R.A.	*	R.A.	*	*	b.by '56	(64)
<u>Birckman, John.</u> with J. Cawood, '41 with A. Hester, '49.	d. R.A.	R.A.	R.A.	R.A.	-	-	-	-
<u>Blond, Nicholas.</u> French bookbinder.	-	-	-	-	-	-	in Eng. c.'52	'59, b.
<u>Bole, William .</u> bookbinder with W. Tylly.	-	R.A.?	*	R.A.	-	-	-	-
<u>Brey, Lambertus.</u> with Mierdman .	-	-	-	-	D. R.A.	-	-	-
<u>Brygges, John.</u> bookbinder with John Growte	-	-	-	R.A.	D.?	-	-	-
<u>Burges, Isaac de.</u> bookbinder from Rouen	in Eng. c.'43	p.	p.	d.?	d.?	p.	p.	Fr. ch. (62)
<u>Nycodenus</u> with John Byddell	R.A.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<u>Cames, Lewes.</u> bookbinder from Rouen.	in Eng. c.'35	d.	p.	p.	p.	p.	p.	(64)
<u>Chaunter, Peter.</u> with Singleton.	-	-	-	R.A.	-	-	-	-
<u>Claes, Jasper.</u> bookbinder.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	'59 b.?
<u>Clusen, Cornelius van.</u> with Mierdman.	-	-	-	-	D. R.A.	d.?	-	-
<u>Cockes, John.</u>	R.A.	R.A.	-	-	-	-	-	-
<u>Coiplett, Jacques.</u> Norman bookbinder with M. Story ?	-	d.	*	*	*	*	*	(68)

Appendix II

	1541	1544	1547	1549	1550	1551	1553-8	1559-60
<u>Coke, Henry,</u> with Mierdman & Hatsoo, printer.	-	-	-	R.A.	-	-	-	-
<u>Wyman Coke,</u> with Mierdman & Hatsoo, printer.	-	-	-	R.A.	-	-	-	-
<u>Crinitus, Joannes,</u> merchant, (printer of Antwerp?)	-	R.A.	R.A.	R.A.	-	-	-	-
<u>Cuelen, Urbanus van,</u> printer.	-	-	-	-	R.A. D.	-	-	-
<u>Cupere, Peter de,</u> van Ippe, printer with N. Hill.	-	-	-	-	R.A.	-	-	-
<u>Cuttier, Philippe,</u> French bookbinder, with T. Purfoot.	-	-	-	-	in Eng. c. '50	p.	p.	'59 b.
<u>Danvillier, Hubert,</u> French type founder.	-	-	-	-	in Eng. c. '50	p.	'53 d.	(62, Fr.ch)
<u>Dare, Gaultier</u> printer of Rouen.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	'60 b. Fr. Ch.
<u>Dalaver, Roger,</u> (de Launders) French.	R.A.	R.A.	R.A.	R.A.	*	*	*	('61b.)
<u>Detter, Martin,</u> bookbinder and stationer.	R.A.	R.A.	R.A.	R.A.	*	*	'56 b.	-
<u>Driesch, Hendryck,</u> from Antwerp, bookbinder ? with John Mayler?	-	-	-	-	R.A. D.	R.A.	-	-
<u>Ego, Cyles,</u> with M. Detter.	-	d. R.A.	-	-	-	-	-	-
<u>Erve, Egidius van</u> der, Dutch printer.	-	-	-	-	R.A. D.	R.A. D.	-	-
<u>Ferrall Jasper,</u> printer, with Whitchurch.	-	-	-	R.A.	-	-	-	-
<u>Ferrom, John</u> with Whitchurch.	-	-	-	R.A.	-	-	-	-
<u>Fleteman, Henry,</u> with J. Day.	-	-	-	R.A.	-	-	-	-
<u>Forture, Richard,</u> with R. Dalaver.	R.A.	*	*	R.A.	*	d.	*	('62, Fr.Ch.)
<u>Fox, James,</u> dutch, with John Reynes	R.A. d.?	R.A.	-	-	-	-	-	-

Appendix II

	1541	1544	1547	1549	1550	1551	1553-8	1559-60
<u>Fylde</u> , David, within J. Benson.	R.A.	R.A.	*	R.A.	-	-	-	-
<u>Gastus</u> , Henry, . with R. Wolf.	-	-	-	R.A.	-	-	-	-
<u>Gaver</u> , James, stationer, d. with Byddell.	R.A.	R.A.	-	-	-	-	-	-
<u>Geyson</u> , Gysberd, with J. Day.	-	-	-	R.A.	D ?	-	-	-
<u>Godet</u> , Giles, french printer.	-	-	in Eng. '47 ?	p?	p ?	d.	'55 b.	('62 Fr.ch.)
<u>Grey</u> , Thomas with T. Petit.	R. A.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<u>Grote</u> , Nicolas, with R. Dalaver?	R.A.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<u>Growte</u> , John, d. Norman bookbinder.	R.A.	R.A.	*	R.A.	-	-	-	-
<u>Gybryn</u> , John, with J. Fox.	R.A.	R.A.	R.A.	R.A.	p.	p.	-	-
<u>Hacket</u> , John, French bookbinder, with F. Caldock.	-	-	in Eng. c. '47	p.	p.	p.	p.	('65 b.)
<u>Hacket</u> , Thomas, French bookbinder from Normandy	R.A.	R.A. d.	R.A.	R.A.	p.	p.	p.	('62 Fr.ch.)
<u>Hambourgh</u> , Tyllam van with the Printer, (J. Herford ?)	-	R.A.	-	-	-	-	-	-
<u>Harman</u> , Herry, A. Birckman's factor. d.?	R.A.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<u>Harrys</u> , Garret, with K. Herford.	-	-	-	R.A.	-	-	-	-
<u>Hatsoo</u> , Godfrey with S. Mierdman.	-	-	-	R.A.	-	-	-	-
<u>Havy</u> , Nowell, french bookbinder.	R.A. d.	R.A.	*	R.A.	-	-	-	-
<u>Hemryk</u> Hans van	'40 R.A.	*	*	*	D. R.A.	*	*	('62 b.)
<u>Herford</u> , John. printer.	R.A.	R.A.	*	widow	-	-	-	-
<u>Hill</u> , Nicholas, dutch printer.	in Eng. '20	d. R.A.	*	R.A.	D. R.A.	D. R.A.	abroad?	D. widow
<u>Hollinder</u> , John, with J. Day.	-	-	-	R.A.	*	*	abroad?	('61 S.C)

Appendix II

	1541	1544	1547	1549	1550	1551	1553-8	1559-60
<u>Hollyard, Jasper,</u> with E. Whitchurch. French bookbinder.	in Eng. c.'40	p.	p.	R.A.	p.	p.	p.	('67d.)
<u>Jacob ,</u> with Grafton,	-	-	-	R.A.	-	-	-	-
<u>Jacques, John.</u>	in Eng. c.'37	d.	*	*	*	*	'58 S.C. Warden	-
<u>Kempen, Zacharias</u> bookbinder from Antwerp, with Singleton.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	R.A. D.
<u>Lambert, Leson,</u> French.	-	-	-	R.A.	*	*	*	('65b.)
<u>Lauret Giles,</u> French bookbinder	R.A.	d.? R.A.	*	R.A.	-	-	-	-
<u>Legraunda, Peter,</u> French bookbinder within Berthalet	in Eng. '27	d. R.A.	-	-	-	-	-	-
<u>London, Mychell,</u> van, with J. Day.	-	-	-	R.A.	-	-	-	-
<u>Le Roux, Jean,</u> Norman printer	R.A.	d.? R.A.	*	R.A.	-	-	-	-
<u>Loye, John,</u> with T. Purfoot '47 with A. Hester '49	-	-	R.A.	R.A.	-	-	-	-
<u>Lyghtes, Oliver,</u> with T. Hacket.	-	-	-	R.A.	-	-	-	-
<u>Lynne, Walter,</u> stationer from Antwerp.	R.A.	R.A.	R.A.	R.A.	D. R.A.	R.A.	*	(67)
<u>Lynyng, Urban</u> with N. Hill	-	-	-	R.A.	*	*	*?	('61 D.)
<u>Lyvedalle, Derick,</u> Flemish stationer.	-	-	in Eng c.'47	p.	p.	p.	p.	(63 b.)
<u>Magussher, John,</u> printer of Rouen, with E. Whitchurch.	-	d.	p.	R.A.	p.	p.	p.	(67)
<u>Merlyn, John,</u> with P. Scpulys	-	-	-	-	R.A.	-	-	-
<u>Meteren, Jacob van,</u> dutch stationer.	-	-	-	-	in Eng '50	d:52 p.	*	(64)
<u>Meteren, Emanuel</u> van, Dutch stationer.	-	-	-	-	in Eng '50	d:52 p.56	p.56	(61) D.
<u>Michael, van Antwerp,</u> with Water Prynter.	R.A.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<u>Michiels, Jacob,</u> Merchant.	-	-	-	-	d.D. R.A.	D. R.A.	-	-

Appendix II

	1541	1544	1547	1549	1550	1551	1553-58	1558-60
<u>Mierdman</u> , Stephen, Printer from Antwerp.	-	-	-	R.A.	d. D. R.A.	D. R.A.	-	-
<u>Molyar</u> , Conrad, with J. Gybkyn.	-	-	-	R.A.	*	*	b.by'56	(64)
<u>Morel</u> , Bastien, printer of Paris.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Fr.ch.
<u>Oryns</u> , John, with John Waley.	-	-	-	R.A.	-	-	-	-
<u>Pennewe</u> , John, Norman bookbinder	c.'40 in Eng.	d.?	*	*	*	*	*	(64)
<u>Pieter</u> , Jacob, printer from Antwerp, with John Day.	-	-	-	-	R.A. D.	-	-	-
<u>Pollard</u> , John, bookbinder.	R.A.	R.A.	*	R.A.	-	-	-	-
<u>Prynter</u> , Water.	R.A.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<u>Ram</u> , Jois de, Spanish compactor librorum.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	R.A. D.
<u>Reynes</u> , John, stationer, d.	R.A.	R.A.	-	-	-	-	-	-
<u>Rocheforth</u> , Henry, al. Starkerfelser, stationer.	-	-	-	-	-	-	b.'57	R.A.
<u>Rotteforde</u> , Poll, dutch typefounder, bro. of above.	-	-	-	-	-	-	in Eng. '57	(71)
<u>Rowe</u> , John, with H. Harman, French bookbinder.	R.A.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<u>Roye</u> , Cybryke van, Factor of N.Devalt of Antwerp.	-	-	-	R.A.	*	*	b. by'56	(64)
<u>Ruremund</u> , Hans van, al. Holibusche. (father & son?)	in Eng. c.'26. d.'35	*	*	*	*	*	*	(61)
<u>Rycard</u> , Hans, with A. Scoloker.	-	-	-	R.A.	-	-	-	-
<u>Salt</u> , Henry, dutch bookbinder/ printer.(see Soull)	-	-	in Eng. c.'47	p.	p.	p.	p.	(64)
<u>Scapulys</u> , Philip, from Trier.	R.A.	R.A.	R.A.	R.A.	R.A.	*	b.by'56	*
<u>Senior</u> , Lewis, French bookbinder.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	in Eng. c.'60

Appendix II

	1541	1544	1547	1549	1550	1551	1553-8	1558-60
<u>Seres, Giles,</u> French bookbinder.	-	-	-	-	-	-	c.'55 in Eng.	(d. 62)
<u>Seygar, Paul,</u> with Whitchurch, '49 with N. Hill, '50-1.	-	-	-	R.A.	d. D.	D.	-	-
<u>Sheres, James,</u> bookbinder from Anterp, with P. Scapulys.	in Eng c.'35	p.	p.	R.A.	d.	p.	b.by '56	(71)
<u>Showyche, Paul,</u> with Scapulys.	-	R.A.	-	-	-	-	-	-
<u>Soull, Henry,</u> with Grafton.	-	-	-	R.A.	-	-	-	-
<u>Symondse, Peter,</u> with A. Hester.	-	-	-	R.A.	-	-	-	-
<u>Tolna, Adrian de,</u> with W. Lynne.	-	-	-	R.A.	D. R.A.	-	-	-
<u>Tyse, Matthys,</u> with R. Grafton.	-	-	-	R.A.	-	-	-	-
<u>Vadaugh, John,</u> with P. Scepulys.	-	-	-	-	R.A.	-	-	-
<u>Vyke, John de,</u> bookbinder from Rouen.	-	-	-	-	-	in Eng c.'51	p.	(d. '62)
<u>William, Garret,</u> with R. Holder.	-	-	-	R.A.	*	*	*	(d. '62)
<u>Woelfaert, Jacob,</u> dutch type setter with Grafton.	-	-	in Eng c.'47	R.A.	D. R.A.	p.	p.	(71)
<u>Wolf, Raynold,</u> dutch stationer.	'33d.	R.A.	p.	R.A.	p.	p.	p.	Master of S.C.
Total	38	38	37	65	53	42	38	44

Appendix III

The following graphs are offered as a rough guide to the size and output of the book community during the period under consideration. The problem of unequal survival prevents too exact an interpretation of the figures, but survival rates do not seem to have been significantly different from one reign to another. The figures have been compiled on the basis of the information given in the Short Title Catalogue, including the 1976 revision of the second half of the Catalogue. When the complete revision is available the numbers quoted below, books & printers, will almost certainly have to be raised very slightly.

Figs. 1 and 3, showing books produced in London, and those printed abroad for the English market, also include books which have not survived but are known from contemporary sources to have been printed,

Fig. 2, showing the number of stationers operating in London for each of the given years, includes all printers, publishers and book-sellers known to have been involved in printing one or more books in a particular year. Obviously, for each year there were many other stationers still in business, despite the fact that no surviving books carry their name. This graph is not intended to show the exact size of the book community, but rather the level of activity within it.

Appendix III

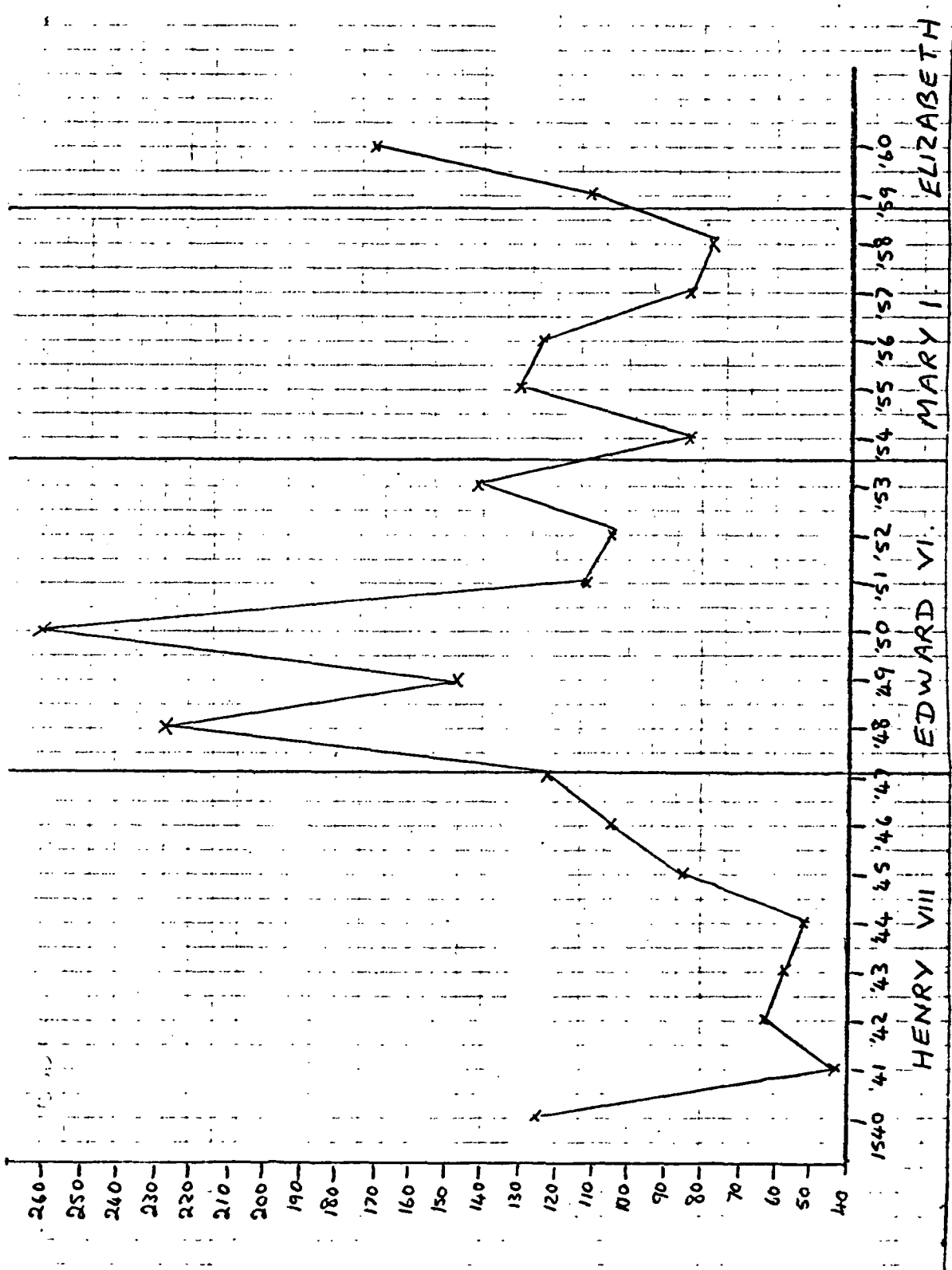


Fig.1 The number of books known to have been printed in England, 1540-1560

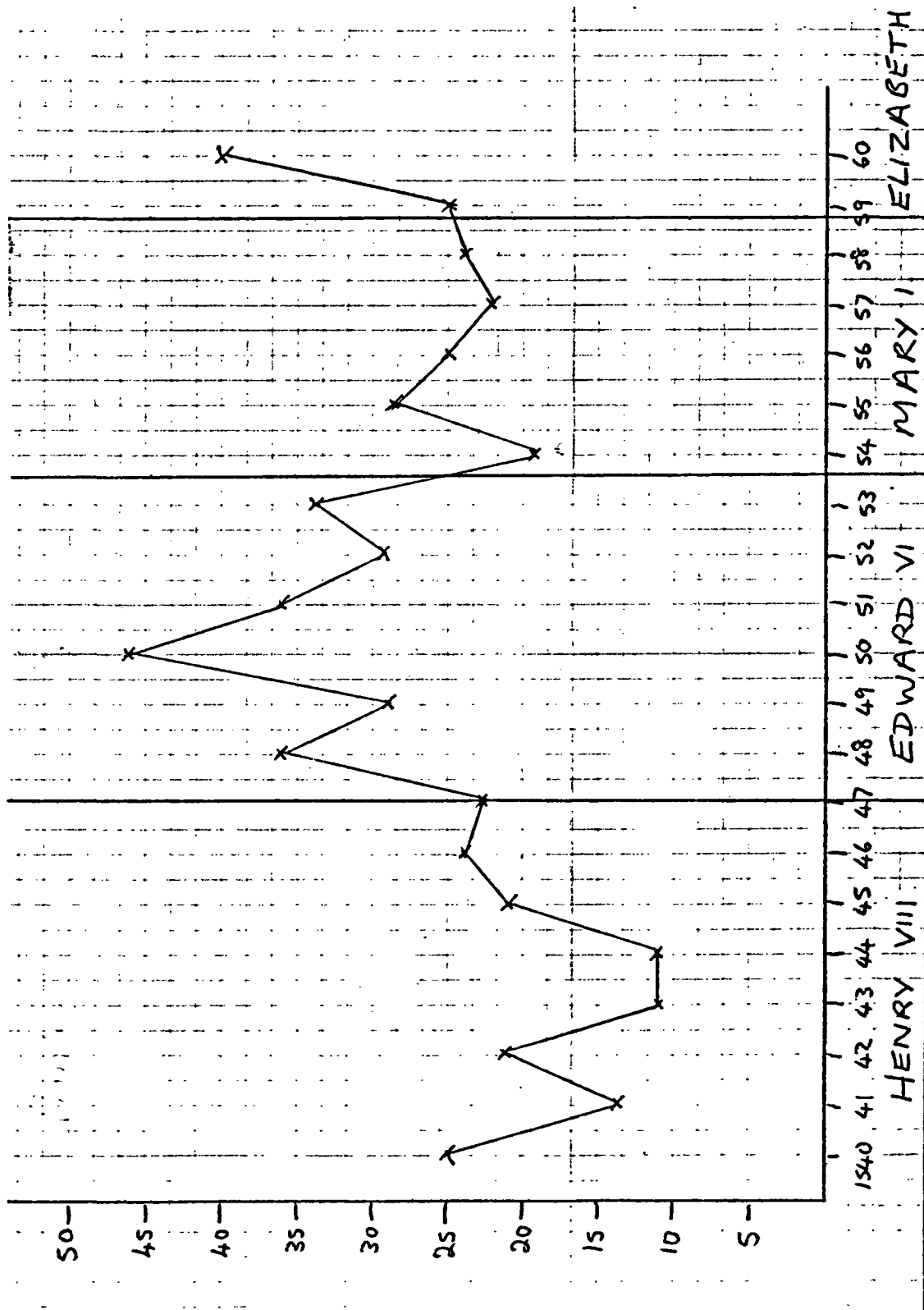


Fig. 2 The number of stationers known to have been active, 1540-1560.

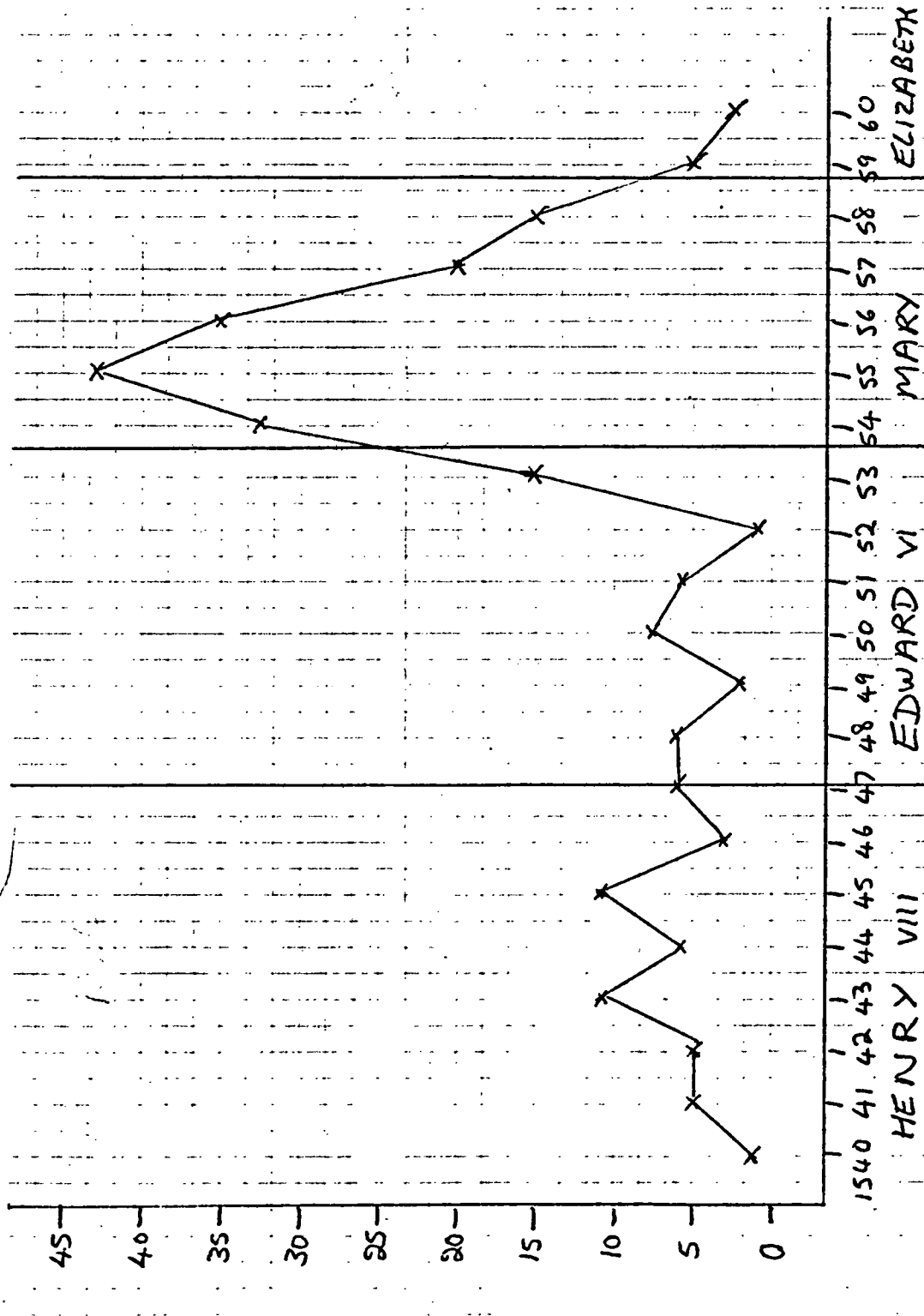


Fig. 3 The number of books known to have been printed abroad for the English Market, 1540-60.

Appendix IV

Service Books produced in England and abroad before 1558.

The figures quoted below are based on the number of sperate editions listed in the revised Short Title Catalogue. As they represent only survivals, they can be used only as a rough guide to the number of editions actually printed, but such large variations as the steep decline in production following the Act of 1534, and the shift in market domination from French to English publications, are not invalidated by the fact that only a proportion of the original editions can be traced.

Antiphonaries

-1534	Printed in England	-	Printed abroad	2
1534-1553	Printed in England	-	Printed abroad	-
1553-1558	Printed in England	-	Printed abroad	-

Breviaries; York..

- 1535	Printed in England	-	Printed abroad	4
1535-1553	Printed in England	-	Printed abroad	-
1553-1558	Printed in England	-	Printed abroad	1

Sarum and others

-1535	Printed in England	4	Printed abroad	47
1535-1553	Printed in England	3	Printed abroad	-
1553-1558	Printed in England	2	Printed abroad	5

Officia Nova

-1535	Printed in England	10	Printed abroad	-
1535-1553	Printed in England	-	Printed abroad	-
1553-1558	Printed in England	-	Printed abroad	-

Diurnals

-1535	Printed in England	-	Printed abroad	2
1535-1553	" " "	-	" "	-
1553-1558	" " "	-	" "	-

Graduals

-1534	Printed in England	-	Printed abroad	4
1534-1553	" " "	-	" "	-
1553-1558	" " "	-	" "	-

Hymns

-1534	Printed in England (without music)	19	Printed abroad	14
1534-1553	Printed in England	-	Printed abroad	1
1553-1558	Printed in England (with music)	1	Printed abroad	-

Legenda

-1534	Printed in England	-	Printed abroad	2
1534-1553	" " "	-	" "	-
1553-1558	" " "	-	" "	-

Manuals; York

-1534	Printed in England	-	Printed abroad	2
1534-1553	Printed in England	-	Printed abroad	-
1553-1558	Printed in England	-	Printed abroad	-

Sarum and others

-1534	Printed in England	1	Printed abroad	14
1534-1553	" " "	-	" "	4
1553-1558	" " "	4	" "	2

Appendix IV

Missals ;York

-1534	Printed in England	-	Printed abroad	5
1534-1553	" " "	-	" "	-
1553-1558	" " "	-	" "	-

Sarum and others

-1534	Printed in England (i.e. published)	6	Printed abroad	54
1534-1553	Printed in England	-	Printed abroad	-
1553-1558	Printed in England	2	Printed abroad	3

Ordinals

-1534	Printed in England	2	Printed abroad	-
1534-1553	Printed in England (not including those appended to the Bk. of Common Prayer)	-	Printed abroad	-
	Printed in England	-	Printed abroad	-

Processionals

-1534	Printed in England	2	Printed abroad	14
1534-1553	" " "	4	" "	6
1553-1558	" " "	7	" "	2
	(including 2 York)			

Psalters *

-1534	Printed in England	10	Printed abroad	8
1534-1553	" " "	-	" "	-
1553-1558	" " "	3	" "	-

Primers* York

-1534	Printed in England	2	Printed abroad	6
1534-1553	" " "	-	" "	-
1553-1558	" " "	4	" "	-

Sarum and reformed

-1534	Printed in England	37	Printed abroad	52
1534-1540	" " "	13	" "	17
1540-1553	" " "	52	" "	4
1553-1558	" " "	24	" "	10

* Psalters; These figures refer only to the traditional, Sarum Psalter. There were many other collections, some metrical some partial, some including material other than the Psalms, which were referred to as Psalters, but which are not included in these figures, eg. Berthalet's collection known as the King's Psalms, and the pointed and metrical editions issued under Edward.

* Primers; Under "Sarum and reformed" I have included the reformed versions of William Marshall and John Hilsey, the King's Primer and the 1552 reformed edition.

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	9 Peter.	March 1572, J. Wayland. <i>Prob. 11. 55.</i>
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